

ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES
OF
RAJASTHAN

OR THE CENTRAL AND WESTERN
RAJPUT STATES OF INDIA

BY
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LATE POLITICAL AGENT TO THE WESTERN RAJPUT STATES

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ANNALS AND ANTIQUITIES OF RAJASTHAN

BOOK IV—*Continued*

RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS, FESTIVALS, AND CUSTOMS OF MEWĀR

CHAPTER 19

Influence of the Priesthood.—In all ages the ascendancy of the hierarchy is observable ; it is a tribute paid to religion through her organs. Could the lavish endowments and extensive immunities of the various religious establishments in Rajasthan be assumed as criteria of the morality of the inhabitants, we should be authorized to assign them a high station in the scale of excellence. But they more frequently prove the reverse of their position ; especially the territorial endowments, often the fruits of a death-bed repentance,¹ which, prompted by superstition or fear, compounds for past crimes by posthumous profusion, although vanity not rarely lends her powerful aid. There is scarcely a State in Rajputana in which one-fifth of the soil is not assigned for the support of the temples, their ministers, the secular Brahmans, bards, and [508] genealogists. But the evil was not always so extensive ; the abuse is of modern growth.

Weighing of Princes against Gold.—An anecdote related of the Rajas of Marwar and Amber, always rivals in war, love, and folly,

¹ *Manu* commands, "Should the king be near his end through some incurable disease, he must bestow on the priests all his riches accumulated from legal fines : and having duly committed his kingdom to his son, let him seek death in battle, or, if there be no war, by abstaining from food" (*Laws*, ix. 323). The annals of all the Rajput States afford instances of obedience to this text of their divine legislator. [The injunction to seek death by starvation is an addition by the commentator, and is not included in the original text.]

will illustrate the motives of these dismemberments. During the annual pilgrimage to the sacred lake of Pushkar, it is the custom for these lords of the earth to weigh their persons against all that is rare, in gold, gems, and precious cloths; which are afterwards distributed to the priests.¹ The Amber chief had the advantage of a full treasury and a fertile soil, to which his rival could oppose a more extended sway over a braver race; but his country was proverbially poor, and at Pushkar, the weight of the purse ranks above the deeds of the sword. As these princes were suspended in the scale, the Amber Raja, who was balanced against the more costly material, indirectly taunted his brother-in-law on the poverty of his offerings, who would gladly, like the Roman, have made up the deficiency with his sword. But the Marwar prince had a minister of tact, at whose suggestion he challenged his rival (of Amber) to equal him in the magnitude of his gift to the Brahmans. On the gage being accepted, the Rathor exclaimed, "Perpetual charity (*sasan*)² of all the lands held by the Brahmans in Marwar!" His unreflecting rival had commenced the redemption of his pledge, when his minister stopped the half-uttered vow, which would have impoverished the family for ever; for there were ten Brahmans in Amber who followed secular employments, cultivating or holding lands in usufruct, to one in Marwar. Had these lords of the earth been left to their misguided vanity, the fisc of each state would have been seriously curtailed.

Grants to Brāhmans and Devotees.—The Brahmans, Sannyasis, and Gosains are not behind those professional flatterers, the Bards; and many a princely name would have been forgotten but for the record of the gift of land. In Mewar, the lands in *sasan*, or religious grants, amount in value to one-fifth of the

¹ [The practice of a devotee weighing himself against gold was common in ancient Hindu times, was known as *tulāpurushadāna*, and is still performed by the Mahārāja of Travancore (Thurston, *Tribes and Castes of S. India*, vii. 202 ff.; BG, i. Part ii. 415; Forbes, *Rāsmāla*, 84). Akbar used to have himself weighed against precious substances twice a year, on his solar and lunar birthdays, the articles being given to Brāhmans, and Jahāngir followed the same custom (*Āin*, i. 266 ff.; Elliot-Dowson v. 307, 453; *Memoirs of Jahāngir*, trans. Rogers-Beveridge, 78, 81, 111, 183).]

² [*Sāsan*, a grant by charter of rent-free lands, made in favour of Brāhmans and devotees. For the formula used in such grants see Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, 129.]

revenue of the State, and the greater proportion of these has arisen out of the prodigal mismanagement of the last century. The dilapidated state of the country, on the general pacification in A.D. 1818, afforded a noble opportunity to redeem in part these alienations, without the penalty of denunciation attached to the resumer of sacred charities. But death, famine, and exile, which had left but few of the grantees in a capacity to return and reoccupy the lands, in vain coalesced to restore the fisc of Mewar. The Rana dreaded a "sixty thousand [509] years' residence in hell," and some of the finest land of his country is doomed to remain unproductive. In this predicament is the township of Menal,¹ with 50,000 bighas (16,000 acres), which with the exception of a nook where some few have established themselves, claiming to be descendants of the original holders, are condemned to sterility, owing to the agricultural proprietors and the rent-receiving Brahmans being dead; and apathy united to superstition admits their claims without inquiry.

The antiquary, who has dipped into the records of the dark period in European church history, can have ocular illustration in Rajasthan of traditions which may in Europe appear questionable. The vision of the Bishop of Orleans,² who saw Charles Martel in the depths of hell, undergoing the tortures of the damned, for having stripped the churches of their possessions, "thereby rendering himself guilty of the sins of all those who had endowed them," would receive implicit credence from every Hindu, whose ecclesiastical economy might both yield and derive illustration from a comparison, not only with that of Europe, but with the more ancient Egyptian and Jewish systems, whose endowments, as explained by Moses and Ezekiel, bear a strong analogy to his

¹ [Monāl, Mahānāl, 'the great chasm,' in the Begun Estate, E. Mewār.]

² "Saint Eucher, évêque d'Orléans, eut une vision qui étonna les princes. Il faut que je rapporte à ce sujet la lettre que les évêques, assemblés à Reims, écrivent à Louis-le-Germanique, qui étoit entré dans les terres de Charles le Chauve, parce qu'elle est très-propre à nous faire voir quel étoit, dans ces temps-là, l'état des choses, et la situation des esprits. Ils disent que 'Saint Eucher ayant été ravi dans le ciel, il vit Charles Martel tourmenté dans l'enfer inférieur par l'ordre des saints qui doivent assister avec Jésus-Christ au jugement dernier; qu'il avoit été condamné à cette peine avant le temps pour avoir dépouillé les églises de leurs biens, et s'être par là rendu coupable des péchés de tous ceux qui les avoient dotées'" (Montesquieu, *L'Esprit des Loix*, livre xxxi. chap. xi. p. 460).

own. The disposition of landed property in Egypt, as amongst the ancient Hindus, was immemorially vested in the cultivator ; and it was only through Joseph's ministry in the famine that "the land became Pharaoh's, as the Egyptians sold every man his field."¹ And the coincidence is manifest even in the tax imposed on them as occupants of their inheritance, being one-fifth of the crops to the king, while the maximum rate among the Hindus is a sixth.² The Hindus also, in visitations such as that which occasioned the dispossession of the ryots of Egypt, can mortgage or sell their patrimony (*bapota*). Joseph did not attempt to infringe the privileges of the sacred order when the whole of Egypt became crown-land, "except the lands of the priests, which became not Pharaoh's" ; and these priests, according to Diodorus, held for themselves and the sacrifices no less than one-third of the lands of Egypt. But we learn from [510] Herodotus, that Sesostris, who ruled after Joseph's ministry, restored the lands to the people, reserving the customary tax or tribute.³

The prelates of the middle ages of Europe were often completely feudal nobles, swearing fealty and paying homage as did the lay lords.⁴ In Rajasthan, the sacerdotal caste not bound to the altar may hold lands and perform the duties of vassalage :⁵ but of late years, when land has been assigned to religious establishments, no reservation has been made of fiscal rights, territorial or commercial. This is, however, an innovation ; since, formerly, princes never granted, along with territorial assignments, the prerogative of dispensing justice, of levying transit duties, or exemption from personal service of the feudal tenant who held on the land thus assigned. Well may Rajput heirs exclaim with the grandson of Clovis, "our exchequer is impoverished, and our riches are transferred to the clergy."⁶ But Chilperic had the courage to recall the grants of his predecessors, which, however, the pious Gontram re-established. Many Gontrams could be found, though but few Chilperics, in Rajasthan : we have, indeed,

¹ Genesis xlvii. 20-26.

² Manu, *Laws*, vii. 130.

³ *Origin of Laws and Government*, vol. i. p. 54, and vol. ii. p. 13. [Herodotus ii. 109.]

⁴ Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. ii. p. 212.

⁵ "A Brahman unable to subsist by his duties just mentioned (sacerdotal), may live by the duty of a soldier" (Manu x. 81).

⁶ Montesquieu.

one in Jograj,¹ the Rana's ancestor, almost a contemporary of the Merovingian king, who not only resumed all the lands of the Brahmans, but put many of them to death, and expelled the rest his dominions.²

It may be doubted whether vanity and shame are not sufficient in themselves to prevent a resumption of the lands of the Mangtas or mendicants, as they style all those 'who extend the palm,' without the dreaded penalty, which operates very slightly on the sub-vassal or cultivator, who, having no superfluity, defies their anathemas when they attempt to wrest from him, by virtue of the crown-grant, any of his long-established rights. By these, the threat of impure transmigration is despised; and the Brahman may spill his blood on the threshold of his dwelling or in the field in dispute, which will be relinquished by the owner but with his life. The Pat Rani, or chief queen, on the death of Prince Amra, the heir-apparent, in 1818, bestowed a grant of fifteen bighas of land, in one of the central districts, on a Brahman who had assisted in the funeral rites of her son. With grant in hand [511], he hastened to the Jat proprietor, and desired him to make over to him the patch of land. The latter coolly replied that he would give him all the prince had a right to, namely the tax. The Brahman threatened to spill his own blood if he did not obey the command, and gave himself a gash in a limb; but the Jat was inflexible, and declared that he would not surrender his patrimony (*bapota*) even if he slew himself.³ In short, the

¹ [One of the legendary Rānas, twenty-fifth on the list, to whom no date can be assigned.]

² "Le clergé recevoit tant, qu'il faut que, dans les trois races, on lui ait donné plusieurs fois tous les biens du royaume. Mais si les rois, la noblesse, et le peuple, trouvèrent le moyen de leur donner tous leurs biens, ils ne trouvèrent pas moins celui de les leur ôter" (Montesquieu, *L'Esprit des Loix*, livre xxxi. chap. x.).

³ These worshippers of God and Mammon, when threats fail, have recourse to maiming, and even destroying, themselves, to gain their object. In 1820, one of the confidential servants of the Rana demanded payment of the petty tax called *gugri*, of one rupee on each house, from some Brahmans who dwelt in the village, and which had always been received from them. They refused payment, and on being pressed, four of them stabbed themselves mortally. Their bodies were placed upon biers, and funeral rites withheld till punishment should be inflicted on the priest-killer. But for once superstition was disregarded, and the rights of the Brahmans in this community were resumed. See Appendix to this Part, No. I [p. 644].

ryot of Mewar would reply, even to his sovereign, if he demanded his field, in the very words of Naboth to Ahab, king of Israel, when he demanded the vineyard contiguous to the palace: "The Lord forbid it me that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee."

Tithes, Temples.—But the tithes, and other small and legally established rights of the hierarchy, are still religiously maintained. The village temple and the village priest are always objects of veneration to the industrious husbandman, on whom superstition acts more powerfully than on the bold marauding Rajput, who does not hesitate to demand salvamenta (*rakhwali*) from the lands of Kanhaiya or Eklinga. But the poor ryot of the nineteenth century of Vikrama has the same fears as the peasants of Charlemagne, who were made to believe that the ears of corn found empty had been devoured by infernal spirits, reported to have said they owed their feast to the non-payment of tithes.¹

Political Influence of Brāhmans.—The political influence of the Brahmins is frequently exemplified in cases alike prejudicial to the interests of society and the personal welfare of the sovereign. The latter is often surrounded by lay-Brahmins as confidential servants, in the capacities of butler, keeper of the wardrobe, or seneschal,² besides the Guru or domestic chaplain, who to the duty of ghostly comforter sometimes joins that of [512] astrologer

¹ "Mais le bas peuple n'est guère capable d'abandonner ses intérêts par des exemples. Le synode de Francfort lui présenta un motif plus pressant pour payer les dîmes. On y fit un capitulaire dans lequel il est dit que, dans la dernière famine, on avoit trouvé les épis de blé vides, qu'ils avoient été dévorés par les démons, et qu'on avoit entendu leurs voix qui reprochoient de n'avoir pas payé la dîme: et, en conséquence, il fut ordonné à tous ceux qui tenoient les biens ecclésiastiques de payer la dîme, et, en conséquence encore, on l'ordonna à tous" (*L'Esprit des Loix*, livre xxxi. chap. xii.).

² These lay Brahmins are not wanting in energy or courage; the sword is as familiar to them as the *mala* (chaplet). The grandfather of Ramnath, the present worthy seneschal of the Rana, was governor of the turbulent district of Jahazpur, which has never been so well ruled since. He left a curious piece of advice to his successors, inculcating vigorous measures. "With two thousand men you may eat *khichri*; with one thousand *dalbhat*; with five hundred *jutî* (the *shoc*)."
Khichri is a savoury mess of pulse, rice, butter, and spices; *dalbhat* is simple rice and pulse; the *shoc* is indelible disgrace.

and physician, in which case God help the prince!¹ These Gurus and Purohits, having the education of the children, acquire immense influence, and are not backward in improving "the greatness thrust upon them." They are all continually importuning their prince for grants of land for themselves and the shrines they are attached to; and every chief, as well as every influential domestic, takes advantage of ephemeral favour to increase the endowments of his tutelary divinity. The Peshwas of Satara are the most striking out of numerous examples.

In the dark ages of Europe the monks are said to have prostituted their knowledge of writing to the forging of charters in their own favour: a practice not easily detected in the days of ignorance.² The Brahmans, in like manner, do not scruple to employ this method of augmenting the wealth of their shrines; and superstition and indolence combine to support the deception

¹ Manu, in his rules on government, commands the king to impart his momentous counsel and entrust all transactions to a learned and distinguished Brahman (*Laws*, vii. 58). There is no being more aristocratic in his ideas than the secular Brahman or priest, who deems the bare name a passport to respect. The Kulin Brahman of Bengal piques himself upon this title of nobility granted by the last Hindu king of Kanauj (whence they migrated to Bengal), and in virtue of which his alliance in matrimony is courted. But although Manu has imposed obligations towards the Brahman little short of adoration, these are limited to the "learned in the Vedas": he classes the unlearned Brahman with "an elephant made of wood, or an antelope of leather"; nullities, save in name. And he adds further, that "as liberality to a fool is useless, so is a Brahman useless if he read not the holy texts": comparing the person who gives to such an one, to a husbandman "who, sowing seed in a barren soil, reaps no gain"; so the Brahman "obtains no reward in heaven." These sentiments are repeated in numerous texts, holding out the most powerful inducements to the sacerdotal class to cultivate their minds, since their power consists solely in their wisdom. For such, there are no privileges too extensive, no homage too great. "A king, even though dying with want, must not receive any tax from a Brahman learned in the Vedas." His person is sacred. "Never shall the king slay a Brahman, though convicted of all possible crimes," is a premium at least to unbounded insolence, and unfits them for members of society, more especially for soldiers; banishment, with person and property untouched, is the declared punishment for even the most heinous crimes. "A Brahman may seize without hesitation, if he be distressed for a subsistence, the goods of his Sudra slave." But the following text is the climax: "What prince could gain wealth by oppressing these [Brahmans], who, if angry, could frame other worlds, and regents of worlds, and could give birth to new gods and mortals?" (*Manu*, *Laws*, ii. iii. vii. viii. ix.).

² Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. i. p. 204.

There is not a doubt that the grand charter of Nathdwara was a forgery, in which the prince's butler was bribed to aid; and report alleges that the Rana secretly favoured an artifice which regard to opinion prevented him from overtly promulgating. Although the copper-plate had been buried under ground, and came out disguised with a coating of verdigris, there were marks which proved the date of its execution to be false. I have seen charters which, it has been gravely asserted, were granted by Rama upwards of three thousand years ago! Such is the origin assigned to one found in a well at the ancient Brahmpuri, in the valley of the capital. If there be sceptics as to its validity, they are silent ones; and this copper-plate of the brazen age [518] is worth gold to the proprietor.¹ A census² of the three central districts of Mewar discovered that more than twenty thousand acres of these fertile lands, irrigated by the Berach and Banas rivers, were distributed in isolated portions, of which the mendicant castes had the chief share, and which proved fertile sources of dispute to the husbandman and the officers of the revenue. From the mass of title-deeds of every description by which these lands were held, one deserves to be selected, on account of its being pretended to have been written and bestowed on the incumbent's ancestor by the deity upwards of three centuries ago, and which has been maintained as a *bona-fide* grant of Krishna³ ever since. By such credulity and apathy are the Rajput States influenced: yet let the reader check any rising feeling of contempt for Hindu legislation, and cast a retrospective glance at the page of European church history, where he will observe in the time of the most potent of our monarchs that the clergy possessed one-half of the soil:⁴ and the chronicles of France will show him Charlemagne on his death-bed, bequeathing two-thirds of his domains to the church, deeming the remaining third sufficient for the ambition of four sons. The same dread of futurity, and the hope to expiate the sins of a life, at its

¹ These forgeries of charters cannot be considered as invalidating the arguments drawn from them, as we may rest assured nothing is introduced foreign to custom, in the items of the deeds.

² Suggested by the Author, and executed under his superintendence, who waded through all these documents, and translated upwards of a hundred of the most curious.

³ See the Appendix to this Part, No. II [p. 644].

⁴ Hallam.

close, by gifts to the organs of religion, is the motive for these unwise alienations, whether in Europe or in Asia. Some of these establishments, and particularly that at Nathdwara, made a proper use of their revenues in keeping up the Sada-Brat, or perpetual charity, though it is chiefly distributed to religious pilgrims: but among the many complaints made of the misapplication of the funds, the diminution of this hospitable right is one; while, at other shrines, the avarice of the priests is observable in the coarseness of the food dressed for sacrifice and offering.

Tithes levied by Brāhmans.—Besides the crown-grants to the greater establishments, the Brahmins received petty tithes from the agriculturist, and a small duty from the trader, as *mapa* or metage, throughout every township, corresponding with the scale of the village-chapel. An inscription found by the author at the town of Palod,¹ and dated nearly seven centuries back, affords a good specimen of the claims of the village [514] priesthood. The following are among the items. The *serana*, or a *ser*, in every *maund*, being the fortieth part of the grain of the *unaku*, or summer-harvest; the *karpa*, or a bundle from every sheaf of the autumnal crops, whether *makai* (Indian corn), *bajra* or *juar* (maize) [millet], or the other grains peculiar to that season.²

They also derive a tithe from the oil-mill and sugar-mill, and receive a *kansa* or platter of food on all rejoicings, as births, marriages, etc., with *charai*, or the right of pasturage on the village common; and where they have become possessed of landed property they have *halma*, or unpaid labour in man and beasts, and implements, for its culture: an exaction well known in Europe as one of the detested *corvées* of the feudal system of France,³ the abolition of which was the sole boon the English husbandman obtained by the charter of Runymede. Both the chieftain and the priest exact *halma* in Rajasthan; but in that country it is mitigated, and abuse is prevented, by a sentiment unknown to the feudal despot of the middle ages of Europe, and

¹ See Appendix to this Part, No. III [p. 645].

² Each bundle consists of a specified number of ears, which are roasted and eaten in the unripe state with a little salt. [A *ser* or *scer* = 2.057 lbs. avoirdupois.]

³ *Dict. de l'Ancien Régime*, p. 131, art. "Corvée."

which, though difficult to define, acts imperceptibly, having its source in accordance of belief, patriarchal manners, and clannish attachments.

Privileges of Saivas and Jains.—I shall now briefly consider the privileges of the Saivas and Jains—the orthodox and heterodox sects of Mewar; and then proceed to those of Vishnu, whose worship is the most prevalent in these countries, and which I am inclined to regard as of more recent origin.

Worship of Siva.—Mahadeva, or Iswara, is the tutelary divinity of the Rajputs in Mewar; and from the early annals of the dynasty appears to have been, with his consort Isani, the sole object of Guhilot adoration. Iswara is adored under the epithet of *Eklinga*,¹ and is either worshipped in his monolithic symbol, or as Iswara Chaumukhi, the quadriform divinity, represented by a bust with four faces. The sacred bull, Nandi, has his altar attached to all the shrines of Iswara, as was that of Mneves or Apis to those of the Egyptian Osiris. Nandi has occasionally his separate shrines, and there is one in the valley of Udaipur which has the reputation of being oracular as regards the seasons. The bull was the steed of Iswara, and [515] carried him in battle; he is often represented upon it, with his consort Isani, at full speed. I will not stop to inquire whether the Grecian fable of the rape of Europa² by the tauriform Jupiter may not be derived, with much more of their mythology, from the Hindu pantheon; whether that pantheon was originally erected on the Indus, or

¹ That is, with *one (ek) lingam* or phallus—the symbol of worship being a single cylindrical or conical stone. There are others, termed *Sahaslinga* and *Kotiswara*, with a thousand or a million of phallic representatives, all minutely carved on the monolithic emblem, having then much resemblance to the symbol of Bacchus, whose orgies, both in Egypt and Greece, are the counterpart of those of the Hindu Baghis, thus called from being clad in a tiger's or leopard's hide: Bacchus had the panther's for his covering. There is a very ancient temple to Kotiswara at the *embouchure* of the eastern arm of the Indus; and here are many to *Sahaslinga* in the peninsula of Saurashtra. [Bacchus has no connexion with a Hindu tiger-god.]

² It might have appeared fanciful, some time ago, to have given a Sanskrit derivation to a Greek proper name: but Europa might be derived from *Surupa*, 'of the beautiful face'—the initial syllable *su* and *eu* having the same signification in both languages, namely, *good*—*Rupa* is 'countenance.' [Europa is probably Assyrian *ereb, irib*, 'land of the rising sun' (*EB*, ix. 907). Another explanation is that it is a cult title, meaning 'goddess of the flourishing willow-withies' (*A. B. Cook, Zeus*, 531).]

the Ganges, or the more central scene of early civilization, the banks of the Oxus. The bull was offered to Mithras by the Persian, and opposed as it now appears to Hindu faith, he formerly bled on the altars of the Sun-god, on which not only the Baldan,¹ 'offering of the bull,' was made, but human sacrifices.² We do not learn that the Egyptian priesthood presented the kindred of Apis to Osiris, but as they were not prohibited from eating beef, they may have done so.

The Temple of Eklinga.—The shrine of Eklinga is situated in a defile about six [twelve] miles north of Udaipur. The hills towering around it on all sides are of the primitive formation, and their scarp'd summits are clustered with honeycombs.³ There are abundant small springs of water, which keep verdant numerous shrubs, the flowers of which are acceptable to the deity; especially the *kaner* or oleander, which grows in great

¹ In this sacrifice four altars are erected, for offering the flesh to the four gods, Lakshmi-Narayana, Umamaheswar, Brahma, and Ananta. The nine planets, and Prithu, or the earth, with her ten guardian-deities, are worshipped. Five *Vilva*, five *Khadira*, five *Palasha*, and five *Udumbara* posts are to be erected, and a bull tied to each post. Clarified butter is burnt on the altar, and pieces of the flesh of the slaughtered animals placed thereon. This sacrifice was very common (Ward, *On the Religion of the Hindus*, vol. ii. p. 263). [Balidāna, 'an offering to the gods.']

² First a covered altar is to be prepared; sixteen posts are then to be erected of various woods; a golden image of a man, and an iron one of a goat, with golden images of Vishnu and Lakshmi, a silver one of Siva, with a golden bull, and a silver one of Garuda 'the eagle,' are placed upon the altar. Animals, as goats, sheep, etc., are tied to the posts, and to one of them, of the wood of the *mimosa*, is to be tied the human victim. Fire is to be kindled by means of a burning glass. The sacrificing priest, *hota*, strews the grass called *dub* or immortal, round the sacred fire. Then follows the burnt sacrifice to the ten guardian deities of the earth—to the nine planets, and to the Hindu Triad, to each of whom clarified butter is poured on the sacred fire one thousand times. Another burnt-sacrifice, to the sixty-four inferior gods, follows, which is succeeded by the sacrifice and offering of all the other animals tied to the posts. The human sacrifice concludes, the sacrificing priest offering pieces of the flesh of the victim to each god as he circumambulates the altar (*ibid*, 260).

³ This is to be taken in its literal sense; the economy of the bee being displayed in the formation of extensive colonies which inhabit large masses of black comb adhering to the summits of the rocks. According to the legends of these tracts, they were called in as auxiliaries on Muhammadan invasions, and are said to have thrown the enemy more than once into confusion. [Stories of idols protected from desecration by swarms of hornets are common (*BG*, viii. 401; Sleeman, *Rambles*, 54).]

luxuriance on the Aravalli. Groves of bamboo and mango were formerly common, according to tradition; but although it is deemed sacrilege to thin the groves of Bal,¹ the bamboo has been nearly destroyed: there are, however, still many trees sacred to the deity scattered around. It would be difficult to convey a just [516] idea of a temple so complicated in its details. It is of the form commonly styled pagoda, and, like all the ancient temples of Siva, its *sikhara*, or pinnacle, is pyramidal. The various orders of Hindu sacred architecture are distinguished by the form of the *sikhara*, which is the portion springing from and surmounting the perpendicular walls of the body of the temple. The *sikhara* of those of Siva is invariably pyramidal, and its sides vary with the base, whether square or oblong. The apex is crowned with an ornamental figure, as a sphinx, an urn, a ball, or a lion, which is called the *kalas*. When the *sikhara* is but the frustum of a pyramid, it is often surmounted by a row of lions, as at Bijolia. The fane of Eklinga is of white marble and of ample dimensions. Under an open-vaulted temple supported by columns, and fronting the four-faced divinity, is the brazen bull Nandi, of the natural size; it is cast, and of excellent proportions. The figure is perfect, except where the shot or hammer of an infidel invader has penetrated its hollow flank in search of treasure. Within the quadrangle are miniature shrines, containing some of the minor divinities.² The high-priest of Eklinga, like all his order, is doomed to celibacy, and

¹ See Appendix to this Part, No. IV [p. 645].

² In June 1806 I was present at a meeting between the Rana and Sindhia at the shrine of Eklinga. The rapacious Mahratta had just forced the passes to the Rana's capital, which was the commencement of a series of aggressions involving one of the most tragical events in the history of Mewar—the immolation of the Princess Krishna and the subsequent ruin of the country. I was then an *attaché* of the British embassy to the Mahratta prince, who carried the ambassador to the meeting to increase his consequence. In March 1818 I again visited the shrine, on my way to Udaipur, but under very different circumstances—to announce the deliverance of the family from oppression, and to labour for its prosperity. While standing without the sanctuary, looking at the quadriform divinity, and musing on the changes of the intervening twelve years, my meditations were broken by an old Rajput chieftain, who, saluting me, invited me to enter and adore Baba Adam, 'Father Adam,' as he termed the phallic emblem. I excused myself on account of my boots, which I said I could not remove, and that with them I would not cross the threshold: a reply which pleased them, and preceded me to the Rana's court.

the office is continued by adopted disciples. Of such spiritual descents they calculate sixty-four since the Sage Harita, whose benediction obtained for the Guhilot Rajput the sovereignty of Chitor, when driven from Saurashtra by the Parthians.

The priests of Eklinga are termed Gosain or Goswami, which signifies 'control over the senses'! The distinguishing mark of the faith of Siva is the crescent on the forehead:¹ the hair is braided and forms a tiara round the head, and with its folds a chaplet of the lotus-seed is often entwined. They smear the body with ashes, and use garments dyed of an orange hue. They bury their dead in a sitting [517] posture, and erect tumuli over them, which are generally conical in form.² It is not uncommon for priestesses to officiate in the temple of Siva. There is a numerous class of Gosains who have adopted celibacy, and who yet follow secular employments both in commerce and arms. The mercantile Gosains³ are amongst the richest individuals in India, and there are several at Udaipur who enjoy high favour, and who were found very useful when the Mahrattas demanded a war-contribution, as their privileged character did not prevent their being offered and taken as hostages for its payment. The Gosains who profess arms, partake of the character of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. They live in monasteries scattered over the country, possess lands, and beg, or serve for pay when called upon. As defensive soldiers, they are good. Siva, their patron, is the god of war, and like him they make great use of intoxicating herbs, and even of spirituous liquors. In Mewar they can always muster many hundreds of the Kanphara⁴ Jogi, or 'split-ear ascetics,' so called from the habit of piercing the ear and placing therein a ring of the conch-shell, which is their battle-

¹ Siva is represented with three eyes: hence his title of Trinetra and Trilochan, the Triophthalmic Jupiter of the Greeks. From the fire of the central eye of Siva is to proceed Pralaya, or the final destruction of the universe: this eye placed vertically, resembling the flame of a taper, is a distinguishing mark on the foreheads of his votaries. 12249

² I have seen a cemetery of these, each of very small dimensions, which may be described as so many concentric rings of earth, diminishing to the apex, crowned with a cylindrical stone pillar. One of the disciples of Siva was performing rites to the manes, strewing leaves of an evergreen [probably *bel*, *Aegle marmelos*] and sprinkling water over the graves.

³ For a description of these, vide *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 217.

⁴ [The more usual form is Kanphata, with the same meaning.]

trumpet. Both Brahmans and Rajputs, and even Gujars, can belong to this order, a particular account of whose internal discipline and economy could not fail to be interesting. The poet Chand gives an animated description of the body-guard of the King of Kanauj, which was composed of these monastic warriors.

Priestly Functions of the Mewār Rānas.—The Ranas of Mewar, as the diwans, or vicegerents of Siva, when they visit the temple supersede the high priest in his duties, and perform the ceremonies, which the reigning prince does with peculiar correctness and grace.¹

Privileges of Jains.—The shrine of Eklinga is endowed with twenty-four large villages from the fisc, besides parcels of land from the chieftains; but the privileges of the tutelary divinity have been waning since Kanhaiya fixed his residence amongst them; and as the priests of Apollo complained that the god was driven from the sacred mount [518] Govardhana, in Vraj, by the influence of those of Jupiter² with Shah Jahan, the latter may now lament that the day of retribution has arrived, when propitiation to the Preserver is deemed more important than to the Destroyer. This may arise from the personal character of the high priests, who, from their vicinity to the court, can scarcely avoid mingling in its intrigues, and thence lose in character; even the Ranis do not hesitate to take mortgages on the estates of Bholanath.³ We shall not further enlarge on the immunities to Eklinga, or the forms in which they are conveyed, as these will be fully discussed in the account of the shrine of Krishna; but proceed to notice the privileges of the heterodox Jains—the Vidyavan⁴ or Magi of Rajasthan. The numbers and power of

¹ The copy of the *Siva Purana* which I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society was obtained for me by the Rana from the temple of Eklinga.

² *Jiva-pitri*, the 'Father of Life,' would be a very proper epithet for Mahadeva, the creative 'power,' whose Olympus is Kailas. [*Jiva-pitri* means 'a child whose father is alive.' Jupiter = *Ēkt. Dyaus-pitā.*]

³ Bholanath, or the 'Simple God,' is one of the epithets of Siva, whose want of reflection is so great that he would give away his own divinity if asked.

⁴ Vidyavan, the 'Man of Secrets or Knowledge,' is the term used by way of reproach to the Jains, having the import of *magician*. Their opponents believe them to be possessed of supernatural skill; and it is recorded of the celebrated Amara, author of the *Kosa* or dictionary called after him, that he miraculously "made the full moon appear on Amavas"—the ides of the month, when the planet is invisible.

these sectarians are little known to Europeans, who take it for granted that they are few and dispersed. To prove the extent of their religious and political power, it will suffice to remark that the pontiff of the Khadataragachchha,¹ one of the many branches of this faith, has 11,000 clerical disciples scattered over India; that a single community, the Osi or Oswal,² numbers 100,000 families; and that more than half [519] of the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity. Rajasthan and Saurashtra are the cradles of the Buddhist or Jain faith, and three out of their five sacred mounts, namely, Abu, Palitana,³ and Girnar, are in these countries. The officers

¹ Khadatar signifies 'true' [?], an epithet of distinction which was bestowed by that great supporter of the Buddhists or Jains, Siddharaj, king of Anhilwara Patan, on one of the branches (*gachchha*), in a grand religious disputation (*badha*) at that capital in the eleventh century. The celebrated Hemacharya was head of the *Khadataragachchha*; and his spiritual descendant honoured Udaipur with his presence in his visit to his dioceses in the desert in 1821. My own Yati tutor was a disciple of Hemacharya, and his *patravali*, or pedigree, registered his descent by spiritual successions from him. [For the Jain *gachchhas* see Bühler, *The Indian Sect of the Jainas*, 77 ff. As usual, the author confounds Jains with Buddhists.] This pontiff was a man of extensive learning and of estimable character. He was versed in all the ancient inscriptions, to which no key now exists, and deciphered one for me which had been long unintelligible. His travelling library was of considerable extent, though chiefly composed of works relating to the ceremonies of his religion: it was in the charge of two of his disciples remarkable for talent, and who, like himself, were perfectly acquainted with all these ancient characters. The pontiff kindly permitted my Yati to bring for my inspection some of the letters of invitation written by his flocks in the desert. These were rolls, some of them several feet in length, containing pictured delineations of their wishes. One from Bikaner represented that city, in one division of which was the school or college of the Jains, where the Yatis were all portrayed at their various studies. In another part, a procession of them was quitting the southern gate of the city, the head of which was in the act of delivering a scroll to a messenger, while the pontiff was seen with his cortège advancing in the distance. To show the respect in which these high priests of the Jains are held, the princes of Rajputana invariably advance outside the walls of their capital to receive and conduct them to it—a mark of respect paid only to princes. On the occasion of the high priest of the *Khadataras* passing through Udaipur, as above alluded to, the Rana received him with every distinction.

² So called from the town of Osi or Osian, in Marwar [about 30 miles N. of Jodhpur city].

³ Palitana, or 'the abode of the Pali' [?], is the name of the town at the foot of the sacred mount Satrunjaya (signifying 'victorious over the foe'), on which the Jain temples are sacred to Buddhiswara, or the 'Lord of the

of the State and revenue are chiefly of the Jain laity, as are the majority of the bankers, from Lahore to the ocean. The chief magistrate and assessors of justice, in Udaipur and most of the towns of Rajasthan, are of this sect; and as their voluntary duties are confined to civil cases, they are as competent in these as they are the reverse in criminal cases, from their tenets forbidding the shedding of blood. To this leading feature in their religion they owe their political debasement: for Kumarpal, the last king of Anhilwara of the Jain faith, would not march his armies in the rains, from the unavoidable sacrifice of animal life that must have ensued. The strict Jain does not even maintain a lamp during that season, lest it should attract moths to their destruction.

Absence of Intolerance.—The period of sectarian intolerance is now past; and as far as my observation goes, the ministers of Vishnu, Siva, and Buddha view each other without malignity; which feeling never appears to have influenced the laity of either sect, who are indiscriminately respectful to the ministers of all religions, whatever be their tenets. It is sufficient that their office is one of sanctity, and that they are ministers of the Divinity, who, they say, excludes the homage of none, in whatever tongue or whatever manner he is sought; and with this spirit of entire toleration, the devout missionary, or Mulla, would in no country meet more security or hospitable courtesy than among the Rajputs. They must, however, adopt the toleration they would find practised towards themselves, and not exclude, as some of them do, the races of Surya and Chandra from divine mercy, who, with less arrogance, and more reliance on the compassionate nature of the Creator, say, he has established a variety of paths by which the good may attain beatitude.

Mewar has, from the most remote period, afforded a refuge to

Buddhists' [?]. I have little doubt that the name of Palitana is derived from the pastoral (*pali*) Scythic invaders bringing the Buddhist faith in their train—a faith which appears to me not indigenous to India [?]. Palestine, which, with the whole of Syria and Egypt, was ruled by the Hyksos or Shepherd kings, who for a season expelled the old Coptic race, may have had a similar import to the *Palitana* founded by the Indo-Scythic Pali. The Author visited all these sacred mounts. [The Author describes Pālītāna in *WI*, 274 ff.; see also *BG*, viii. 603 f. All this confusion between Buddhists and Jains and the suggested derivation, in which the Author unfortunately relied on Wilford (*Asiatic Researches*, iii. 72 ff., viii. 321), are out of date.]

the followers of the Jain faith, which was the religion of Valabhi, the first capital of the Rana's ancestors, and many monuments attest the support this family has granted to its [520] professors in all the vicissitudes of their fortunes. One of the best preserved monumental remains in India is a column most elaborately sculptured, full seventy feet in height, dedicated to Parsvanath, in Chitor.¹ The noblest remains of sacred architecture, not in Mewar only, but throughout Western India, are Buddhist or Jain :² and the many ancient cities where this religion was fostered, have inscriptions which evince their prosperity in these countries, with whose history their own is interwoven. In fine, the necrological records of the Jains bear witness to their having occupied a distinguished place in Rajput society ; and the privileges they still enjoy, prove that they are not overlooked. It is not my intention to say more on the past or present history of these sectarians, than may be necessary to show the footing on which their establishments are placed ; to which end little is required beyond copies of a few simple warrants and ordinances in their favour.³ Hereafter I may endeavour to add something to the knowledge already possessed of these deists of Rajasthan, whose singular communities contain mines of knowledge hitherto inaccessible to Europeans. The libraries of Jaisalmer in the desert, of Anhilwara, the cradle of their faith, of Cambay, and other places of minor importance, consist of thousands of volumes. These are under the control, not of the priests alone, but of communities of the most wealthy and respectable amongst the laity, and are preserved in the crypts of their temples, which precaution ensured their preservation, as well as that of the statues of their deified teachers, when the temples themselves were destroyed by the Muhammadan invaders, who paid more deference to the images of Buddha than those of Siva or Vishnu. The preservation of the former may be owing to the natural formation of their statues ; for while many of Adinath, of Nemi, and of Parsva have escaped the hammer, there is scarcely an

¹ [The Kirtti-Stambha, erected by a merchant named Jija in the twelfth century A.D., and dedicated to Ādināth, the first Jain Tirthakara (Fergusson, *Hist. Indian Architecture*, ii. 57 ff. ; Erskine ii. A. 104).]

² [Buddhism and Jainism are again confused. For Buddhist remains in Rājputāna see *IGI*, xxi. 103.]

³ See Appendix to this Part [p. 645].

Apollo or a Venus, of any antiquity, entire, from Lahore to Rameswaram. The two arms of these theists sufficed for their protection; while the statues of the polytheists have met with no mercy.

Grant of Rāna Rāj Singh.—No. V.¹ is the translation of a grant by the celebrated Rana Raj Singh, the gallant and successful opponent of Aurangzeb in many a battle. It is at once of a general and special nature, containing a confirmation of the old privileges of the sect, and a mark of favour to a priest of some distinction, called Mana. It is well known [521] that the first law of the Jains, like that of the ancient Athenian lawgiver Triptolemus, is, "Thou shalt not kill," a precept applicable to every sentient thing. The first clause of this edict, in conformity thereto, prohibits all innovation upon this cherished principle; while the second declares that even the life which is forfeited to the laws is immortal (*amara*) if the victim but passes near their abodes. The third article defines the extent of *saran*, or sanctuary, the dearest privilege of the races of these regions. The fourth article sanctions the tithes, both on agricultural and commercial produce; and makes no distinction between the Jain priests and those of Siva and Vishnu in this source of income, which will be more fully detailed in the account of Nathdwara. The fifth article is the particular gift to the priest; and the whole closes with the usual anathema against such as may infringe the ordinance.

The Jain Retreat.—The edicts Nos. VI. and VII.,² engraved on pillars of stone in the towns of Rasmi and Bakrol, further illustrate the scrupulous observances of the Rana's house towards the Jains; where, in compliance with their peculiar doctrine, the oil-mill and the potter's wheel suspend their revolutions for the four months in the year when insects most abound.³ Many others of a similar character could be furnished, but these remarks may be concluded with an instance of the influence of the Jains on Rajput society, which passed immediately under the Author's

¹ See Appendix to this part [p. 645].

² See Appendix to this article [p. 646].

³ [This is the Pachusan, the four months of Jain retreat, the Vassa or Vassavāsa of the Buddhists. It was held in the rainy season, during which travelling was forbidden, in order to avoid injury to the insect life which abounds at this time (*BG*, ix. Part i. 113 f.; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, 80 f.).]

eye. In the midst of a sacrifice to the god of war, when the victims were rapidly falling by the scimitar, a request preferred by one of them for the life of a goat or a buffalo on the point of immolation, met instant compliance, and the animal, become *amara* or immortal, with a garland thrown round his neck, was led off in triumph from the blood-stained spot.

Nāthdwāra.—This is the most celebrated of the fanes of the Hindu Apollo. Its etymology is 'the portal (*dwara*) of the god' (*nath*), of the same import as his more ancient shrine of Dwarka¹ at the 'world's end.' Nathdwara is twenty-two [thirty] miles N.N.E. of Udaipur, on the right bank of the Banas. Although the principal resort of the followers of Vishnu, it has nothing very remarkable in its structure or situation. It owes its celebrity entirely to the image of Krishna, said to [522] be the same that has been worshipped at Mathura ever since his deification, between eleven and twelve hundred years before Christ.² As containing the representative of the mildest of the gods of Hind, Nathdwara is one of the most frequented places of pilgrimage, though it must want that attraction to the classical Hindu which the caves of Gaya, the shores of the distant Dwarka, or the pastoral Vraj,³ the place of the nativity of Krishna, present to his imagination; for though the groves of Vindra,⁴ in which

¹ Dwarka is at the point called Jagat Khunt, of the Saurashtra peninsula. *Ka* is the mark of the genitive case [?]: *Dwarkanath* would be the 'gate of the god' ['Lord of Dvārakā'].

² Fifty-seven descents are given, both in their sacred and profane genealogies, from Krishna to the princes supposed to have been contemporary with Vikramaditya. The Yadu Bhatti or Shama Bhatti (the Ahsham Bhatti of Abu-l Fazl) [*Āīn*, ii. 339], draw their pedigree from Krishna or Yadunath, as do the Jarejas of Cutch.

³ With Mathura as a centre and a radius of eighty miles. describe a circle: all within it is Vraj, which was the seat of whatever was refined in Hinduism, and whose language, the Vraj-bhasha, was the purest dialect of India. Vraj is tantamount to the land of the Suraseni, derived from Sursen, the ancestor of Krishna, whose capital, Surpuri, is about fifty miles south of Mathura on the Yamuna (Jumna). The remains of this city (Surpuri) the Author had the pleasure of discovering. The province of the Surseni, or Suraseni, is defined by Manu [*Laws*, ii. 19, vii. 193, who calls them Surasenakas], and particularly mentioned by the historians of Alexander.

⁴ Vindravana, or the 'forests of Vindra,' in which were placed many temples sacred to Kanhaiya, is on the Yamuna, a few miles above Mathura. A pilgrimage to this temple is indispensable to the true votary of Krishna.

Kanhaiya disported with the Gopis, no longer resound to the echoes of his flute ; though the waters of the Yamuna¹ are daily polluted with the blood of the sacred kine, still it is the holy land of the pilgrim, the sacred Jordan of his fancy, on whose banks he may sit and weep, as did the banished Israelite of old, the glories of Mathura, his Jerusalem !

It was in the reign of Aurangzeb that the pastoral divinity was exiled from Vraj, that classic soil which, during a period of two thousand eight hundred years, had been the sanctuary of his worshippers. He had been compelled to occasional flights during the visitations of Mahmud and the first dynasties of Afghan invaders ; though the more tolerant of the Mogul kings not only reinstated him, but were suspected of dividing their faith between Kanhaiya and the prophet. Akbar was an enthusiast in the mystic poetry of Jayadeva, which paints in glowing colours the loves of Kanhaiya and Radha, in which lovely personification the refined Hindu abjures all sensual interpretation, asserting its character of pure spiritual love.²

The Mughals and Krishna Worship.—Jahangir, by birth half a Rajput, was equally indulgent to the worship of Kanhaiya : but Shah Jahan, also the son of a Rajput princess, inclined to the [523] doctrines of Siva, in which he was initiated by Siddhrup the Sannyasi. Sectarian animosity is more virulent than faiths totally dissimilar. Here we see Hindu depressing Hindu : the followers of Siva oppressing those of Kanhaiya ; the priests of Jupiter driving the pastoral Apollo from the Parnassus of Vraj. At the intercession, however, of a princess of Udaipur, he was replaced on his altar, where he remained till Aurangzeb became emperor of the Moguls. In such detestation did the Hindus hold

¹ This river is called the Kal Yamuna, or black Yamuna, and Kalidah or the 'black pool,' from Kanhaiya having destroyed the hydra Kaliya which infested it. Jayadeva calls the Yamuna 'the blue daughter of the sun.'

² [The popular worship of Krishna and Rādhā is decidedly erotic.] It affords an example of the Hindu doctrine of the Metempsychosis, as well as of the regard which Akbar's toleration had obtained him, to mention, that they held his body to be animated by the soul of a celebrated Hindu gymnosophist : in support of which they say he (Akbar) went to his accustomed spot of penance (*tapasya*) at the confluence of the Yamunā and Ganges, and excavated the implements, namely, the tongs, gourd, and deer-skin, of his anchorite existence. [For the tale of Akbar and the Brāhman Mukunda see *Asiatic Researches*, ix. 158.]

this intolerant king, that in like manner as they supposed the beneficent Akbar to be the devout Mukund in a former birth, so they make the tyrant's body enclose the soul of Kalyavana the foe of Krishna, ere his apotheosis, from whom he fled to Dwarka, and thence acquired the name of Ranchhor.¹

The Image of Krishna removed to Mewār. Founding of Nāthdwāra.—When Aurangzeb proscribed Kanhaiya, and rendered his shrines impure throughout Vraj, Rana Raj Singh “offered the heads of one hundred thousand Rajputs for his service,” and the god was conducted by the route of Kotah and Rampura to Mewar. An omen decided the spot of his future residence. As he journeyed to gain the capital of the Sesodias the chariot-wheel sunk deep into the earth and defied extrication ; upon which the Saguni (augur) interpreted the pleasure of the god, that he desired to dwell there. This circumstance occurred at an inconsiderable village called Siarh, in the fief of Delwara, one of the sixteen nobles of Mewar. Rejoiced at this decided manifestation of favour, the chief hastened to make a perpetual gift of the village and its lands, which was speedily confirmed by the patent of the Rana.² Nathji (*the* god) was removed from his car, and in due time a temple was erected for his reception, when the hamlet of Siarh became the town of Nathdwara, which now contains many thousand inhabitants of all denominations, who, reposing under the especial protection of the god, are exempt from every mortal tribunal. The site is not uninteresting, nor devoid of the means of defence. To the east it is shut in by a cluster of hills, and to the westward flows the Banas, which nearly bathes the extreme points of the hills. Within these bounds is the sanctuary (*saran*) of Kanhaiya, where the criminal is free from pursuit ; nor dare the rod of justice appear on the mount, or the foot of the pursuer pass the stream ; neither within it can blood be spilt, for the pastoral Kanhaiya delights not in offerings of

¹ *Ran*, the ‘field of battle,’ *chhor*, from *chhorna*, ‘to abandon.’ Hence Ranchhor, one of the titles under which Krishna is worshipped at Dwarka, is most unpropitious to the martial Rajput. Kalyavana, the foe from whom he fled, and who is figured as a serpent, is doubtless the Tak, the ancient foe of the Yadus, who slew Janamejaya, emperor of the Pandus. [Kālyavana has been identified with Gonanda I. of Kashmīr, but was more probably one of the Bactrian chiefs of the Panjāb (Growse, *Mathura*, 3rd ed. 56).]

² See Appendix to this Part, No. VIII [p. 647].

this kind [524].¹ The territory contains within its precincts abundant space for the town, the temple, and the establishments of the priests, as well as for the numerous resident worshippers, and the constant influx of votaries from the most distant regions,

From Samarcand, by Oxus, Temir's throne,
Down to the golden Chersonese,

who find abundant shelter from the noontide blaze in the groves of tamarind, pipal, and semal,² where they listen to the mystic hymns of Jayadeva. Here those whom ambition has cloyed, superstition unsettled, satiety disgusted, commerce ruined, or crime disquieted, may be found as ascetic attendants on the mildest of the gods of India. Determined upon renouncing the world, they first renounce the ties that bind them to it, whether family, friends, or fortune, and placing their wealth at the disposal of the deity, stipulate only for a portion of the food dressed for him, and to be permitted to prostrate themselves before him till their allotted time is expired. Here no blood-stained sacrifice scares the timid devotee; no austerities terrify, or tedious ceremonies fatigue him; he is taught to cherish the hope that he has only to ask for mercy in order to obtain it; and to believe that the compassionate deity who guarded the lapwing's nest³ in the

¹ [The right of sanctuary was maintained until quite recent times (Erskine ii. A. 120).]

² The cotton tree, *Bombax malabaracum*, which grows to an immense height.

³ Whoever has unhooded the falcon at a lapwing, or even scared one from her nest, need not be told of its peculiarly distressing scream, as if appealing to sympathy. The allusion here is to the lapwing scared from her nest, as the rival armies of the Kurus and Pandus joined in battle, when the compassionate Krishna, taking from an elephant's neck a war-bell (*viraghanta*), covered the nest, in order to protect it. When the majority of the feudal nobles of Marwar became self-exiled, to avoid the almost demoniac fury of their sovereign, since his alliance with the British Government, Anar Singh, the chief of Ahor, a fine specimen of the Rathor Rajput, brave, intelligent, and amiable, was one day lamenting, that while all India was enjoying tranquillity under the shield of Britain, they alone were suffering from the caprice of a tyrant; concluding a powerful appeal to my personal interposition with the foregoing allegory, and observing on the beauty of the office of mediator: "You are all-powerful," added he, "and we may be of little account in the grand scale of affairs; but Krishna condescended to protect even the lapwing's egg in the midst of battle." This brave man knew my anxiety to make their peace with their sovereign,

midst of myriads of combatants, who gave beatitude to the courtesan¹ who as the wall crushed her pronounced the name of 'Rama,' will not withhold it from him who has quitted the world and its allurements that he may live only in his presence, be fed by the food prepared for himself, and yield up his last sigh invoking the name of Hari. There [525] have been two hundred individuals at a time, many of whom, stipulating merely for food, raiment, and funeral rites, have abandoned all to pass their days in devotion at the shrine: men of every condition, Rajput merchant, and mechanic; and where sincerity of devotion is the sole expiation, and gifts outweigh penance, they must feel the road smooth to the haven of hope.

Benefactions to Nāthdwāra.—The dead stock of Krishna's shrine is augmented chiefly by those who hold life "unstable as the dew-drop on the lotus"; and who are happy to barter "the wealth of Ormuz and of Ind" for the intercessional prayers of the high priest, and his passport to Haripur, the heaven of Hari. From the banks of the Indus to the mouths of the Ganges, from the coasts of the Peninsula to the shores of the Red Sea, the gifts of gratitude or of fear are lavishly poured in; and though the unsettled aspect of the last half-century curtailed the transmission of the more bulky but least valuable benefactions, it less affected the bills of exchange from the successful sons of commerce, or the legacies of the dead. The safe arrival of a galleon from Sofala or Arabia produced as much to the shrine as to the insurance office, for Kanhaiya is the Saint Nicholas of the Hindu navigator, as was Apollo to the Grecian and Celtic sailors, who purchased the charmed arrows of the god to calm the troubled

and being acquainted with the allegory, I replied with some fervour, in the same strain, "Would to God, Thakur Sahib, I had the *viraghanta* to protect you." The effect was instantaneous, and the eye of this manly chieftain, who had often fearlessly encountered the foe in battle, filled with tears as, holding out his hand, he said, "At least you listen to our griefs, and speak the language of friendship. Say but the word, and you may command the services of twenty thousand Rathors." There is, indeed, no human being more susceptible of excitement, and, under it, of being led to any desperate purpose, whether for good or for evil, than the Rajput.

¹ Chand, the bard, gives this instance of the compassionate nature of Krishna, taken, as well as the former, from the *Mahabharata*. [On Krishna worship see J. Kennedy, *JRAS*, October 1907, p. 960 ff.]

sea.¹ A storm accordingly yields in proportion to its violence, or to the nerve of the owner of the vessel. The appearance of a long-denied heir might deprive him of half his patrimony, and force him to lament his parent's distrust in natural causes ; while the accidental mistake of touching forbidden food on particular fasts requires expiation, not by flagellation or seclusion, but by the penance of the purse.

There is no donation too great or too trifling for the acceptance of Krishna, from the baronial estate to a patch of meadow-land ; from the gemmed coronet to adorn his image, to the widow's mite ; nor, as before observed, is there a principality [526] in India which does not diminish its fisc to add to his revenues. What effect the milder rites of the shepherd-god have produced on the adorers of Siva we know not, but assuredly Eklinga, the tutelary divinity of Mewar, has to complain of being defrauded of half his dues since Kanhaiya transferred his abode from the Yamuna to the Banas ; for the revenues assigned to Kanhaiya, who under the epithet of ' Yellow mantle ' ² has a distinguished niche in the domestic chapel of the Rana, far exceed those of the Avenger. The grants or patents of Hindupati,³ defining the

¹ Near the town of Avranches, on the coast of Normandy, is a rock called Mont St. Michel, in ancient times sacred to the Galli or Celtic Apollo, or Belenus ; a name which the author from whom we quote observes, " certainly came from the East, and proves that the littoral provinces of Gaul were visited by the Phœnicians."—" A college of Druidical priestesses was established there, who sold to seafaring men certain arrows endowed with the peculiar virtue of allaying storms, if shot into the waves by a young mariner. Upon the vessel arriving safe, the young archer was sent by the crew to offer thanks and rewards to the priestesses. His presents were accepted in the most graceful manner ; and at his departure the fair priestesses, who had received his embraces, presented to him a number of shells, which afterwards he never failed to use in adorning his person " (*Tour through France*).

When the early Christian warrior consecrated this mount to his protector St. Michel, its name was changed from *Mons Jovis* (being dedicated to Jupiter) to *Tumba*, supposed from *tumulus*, a mound ; but as the Saxons and Celts placed pillars on all these mounts, dedicated to the Sun-god Belenus, Bal, or Apollo, it is not unlikely that *Tumba* is from the Sanskrit *thambha*, or *sthambha*, ' a pillar ' [?]. ² [Pitāmbara.]

³ *Hindupati*, vulgo *Hindupat*, ' chief of the Hindu race,' is a title justly appertaining to the Ranas of Mewar. It has, however, been assumed by chieftains scarcely superior to some of his vassals, though with some degree of pretension by Siraji, who, had he been spared, might have worked the redemption of his nation, and of the Rana's house, from which he sprung.

privileges and immunities of the shrine, are curious documents.¹

Rights of Sanctuary.—The extension of the sanctuary beyond the vicinage of the shrine became a subject of much animadversion ; and in delegating judicial authority over the whole of the villages in the grant to the priests, the Rana committed the temporal welfare of his subjects to a class of men not apt to be lenient in the collection of their dues, which not unfrequently led to bloodshed. In alienating the other royalties, especially the transit duties, he was censured even by the zealots. Yet, however important such concessions, they were of subordinate value to the rights of sanctuary, which were extended to the whole of the towns in the grant, thereby multiplying the places of refuge for crime, already too numerous.

Violation of Sanctuary.—In all ages and countries the rights of sanctuary have been admitted, and however they may be abused, their institution sprung from humane motives. To check the impulse of revenge and to shelter the weak from oppression are noble objects, and the surest test of a nation's independence is the extent to which they are carried. From the remotest times *saran* has been the most valued privilege of the Rajputs, the lowest of whom deems his house a refuge against the most powerful. But we merely propose to discuss the sanctuary of holy places, and more immediately that of the shrine of Kanhaiya. When Moses, after the Exodus, made a division of the lands of Canaan amongst the Israelites, and appointed "six cities to be the refuge of him who had slain unwittingly, from the avenger of blood,"² the intention was not to afford facilities for eluding justice, but to check the hasty impulse of revenge ; for the slayer was only to be protected "until he stood before the congregation for judgment, or until the death of the high-priest" [527], which event appears to have been considered as the termination of revenge.³ The infraction of political sanctuary (*saran torna*)

¹ See Appendix to this paper, Nos. IX. and X [p. 647].

² Numbers, chap. xxxv. 11, 12.

³ Numbers, chap. xxxv. 25, and Joshua, chap. xx. 6. There was an ancient law of Athens analogous to the Mosaic, by which he who committed 'chance-medley' should fly the country for a year, during which his relatives made satisfaction to the relatives of the deceased. The Greeks had *asyla* for every description of criminals, which could not be violated without infamy. Gibbon [ed. W. Smith, iv. 377 f.] gives a memorable instance of

often gives rise to the most inveterate feuds; and its abuse by the priests is highly prejudicial to society. Moses appointed but six cities of refuge to the whole Levite tribe; but the Rana has assigned more to one shrine than the entire possessions of that branch of the Israelites who had but forty-two cities, while Kanhaiya has forty-six.¹ The motive of sanctuary in Rajasthan may have been originally the same as that of the divine legislator; but the privilege has been abused, and the most notorious criminals deem the temple their best safeguard. Yet some princes have been found hardy enough to violate, though indirectly, the sacred *saran*. Zalim Singh of Kotah, a zealot in all the observances of religion, had the boldness to draw the line when selfish priestcraft interfered with his police; and though he would not demand the culprit, or sacrilegiously drag him from the altar, he has forced him thence by prohibiting the admission of food, and threatening to build up the door of the temple. It was thus the Greeks evaded the laws, and compelled the criminal's surrender by kindling fires around the sanctuary.² The towns of Kanhaiya did not often abuse their privilege; but the Author once had to interpose, where a priest of Eklinga gave asylum to a felon who had committed murder within the bounds of his domain of Pahona. As this town, of eight thousand rupees annual revenue belonging to the fisc, had been gained by a forged charter, the Author was glad to seize on the occasion to recommend its resumption, though he thereby incurred the penalty for seizing church land, namely "sixty thousand years in hell." The unusual occurrence created a sensation, but it was so indisputably just that not a voice was raised in opposition.

Endowments of Nāthdwāra.—Let us revert to the endowments of Nathdwara. Herodotus³ furnishes a powerful instance of

disregard to the sanctuary of St. Julian in Auvergne, by the soldiers of the Frank king Theodoric, who divided the spoils of the altar, and made the priests captives: an impiety not only unsanctioned by the son of Clovis, but punished by the death of the offenders, the restoration of the plunder, and the extension of the right of sanctuary five miles around the sepulchre of the holy martyr.

¹ [The chief sanctuaries in Rājputāna are: Nāgor; Barli, a few miles distant; Chaupāsni; Udaimandir and Mahmandir, close to Jodhpur. The system is a serious obstacle to the detection of crime (General Hervey, *Some Records of Crime*, i. 122 f., ii. 327 ff.).]

² [Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 3rd ed. i. 235.]

³ [iv. 33; L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iv. 101 ff.]

the estimation in which sacred offerings were held by the nations of antiquity. He observes that these were transmitted from the remotest nations of Scythia to Delos in Greece ; a range far less extensive than the offerings to the [528] Dewal of Apollo in Mewar. The spices of the isles of the Indian archipelago ; the balmy spoils of Araby the blest ; the nard or frankincense of Tartary ; the raisins and pistachios of Persia ; every variety of saccharine preparation, from the shakkarkhand (sugar-candy) of the celestial empire, with which the god sweetens his evening repast, to the more common sort which enters into the *peras* of Mathura, the food of his infancy ;¹ the shawls of Kashmir, the silks of Bengal, the scarfs of Benares, the brocades of Gujarat,

. . . the flower and choice
Of many provinces from bound to bound,

all contribute to enrich the shrine of Nathdwara. But it is with the votaries of the maritime provinces of India that he has most reason to be satisfied ; in the commercial cities of Surat, Cambay, Muskat-mandavi, etc., etc., where the Mukhyas, or comptrollers deputed by the high priest, reside, to collect the benefactions, and transmit them as occasion requires. A deputy resides on the part of the high priest at Multan, who invests the distant worshippers with the initiative cordon and necklace. Even from Samarkand the pilgrims repair with their offerings ; and a sum, seldom less than ten thousand rupees, is annually transmitted by the votaries from the Arabian ports of Muscat, Mocha, and Jiddah ; which contribution is probably augmented not only by the votaries who dwell at the mouths of the Volga² [529],

¹ [*Perā*, a sweetmeat made of cream, sugar and spices, for which Mathura is famous.]

² Pallas gives an admirable and evidently faithful account of the worship of Krishna and other Hīndu divinities in the city of Astrakhan, where a Hindu mercantile colony is established. They are termed Multani, from the place whence they migrated—Multan, near the Indus. This class of merchants of the Hindu faith is disseminated over all the countries, from the Indus to the Caspian : and it would have been interesting had the professor given us any account of their period of settlement on the western shore of the Caspian Sea. In costume and feature, as represented in the plate given by that author, they have nothing to denote their origin ; though their divinities might be seated on any altar on the Ganges. The Multanis of Indeskoi Dvor, or ' Indian court,' at Astrakhan, have erected a pantheon, in which Krishna, the god of all Vaishnava merchants, is seated in front of

but by the Samoyede¹ of Siberia. There is not a petty retailer professing the Vishnu creed who does not carry a tithe of his

Jagannath, Rama, and his brothers, who stand in the background; while Siva and his consort Ashtabhuja 'the eight-armed,' form an intermediate line, in which is also placed a statue which Pallas denominates Murali; but Pallas mistook the flute (*murali*) of the divine Krishna for a rod. The principal figure we shall describe in his own words. "In the middle was placed a small idol with a very high bonnet, called Gupaledshi. At its right there was a large black stone, and on the left two smaller ones of the same colour, brought from the Ganges, and regarded by the Hindus as sacred. These fossils were of the species called Sankara, and appeared to be an impression of a bivalve muscle." Minute as is the description, our judgment is further aided by the plate. Gupaledshi is evidently Gopalji, the pastoral deity of Vraj (from *gao*, a cow, and *pala*, a herdsman). The head-dress worn by him and all the others is precisely that still worn by Krishna, in the sacred dance at Mathura: and so minute is the delineation that even the *pera* or sugar-ball is represented, although the professor appears to have been ignorant of its use, as he does not name it. He has likewise omitted to notice the representation of the sacred mount of Govardhana, which separates him from the Hindu Jove and the turreted Cybele (Durga), his consort. The black stones are the Salagramas, worshipped by all Vaishnavas. In the names of 'Nhandigana and Gori,' though the first is called a lion saddled, and the other a male divinity, we easily recognise Nandi, the bull-attendant (*Gana*) of Siva and his consort Gauri. Were all travellers to describe what they see with the same accuracy as Pallas, they would confer important obligations on society, and might defy criticism. It is with heartfelt satisfaction I have to record, from the authority of a gentleman who has dwelt amongst the Hindkis of Astrakhan, that distance from their ancient abodes has not deteriorated their character for uprightness. Mr. Mitchell, from whose knowledge of Oriental languages the Royal Asiatic Society will some day derive benefit, says that the reputation of these Hindu colonists, of whom there are about five hundred families, stands very high, and that they bear a preference over all the merchants of other nations settled in this great commercial city.

¹ Other travellers besides Pallas have described Hinduism as existing in the remote parts of the Russian empire, and if nominal resemblances may be admitted, we would instance the strong analogy between the *Samoyedes* and *Tchoudes* of Siberia and Finland and the *Syama Yadus* and *Joudes* of India [?]. The languages of the two former races are said to have a strong affinity, and are classed as Hindu-Germanic by M. Klaproth, on whose learned work, *Asia Polyglotta*, M. Rémusat has given the world an interesting critique, in his *Mélanges Asiatiques* (tome i. p. 267), in which he traces these tribes to Central Asia; thus approaching the land of the Getae or Yuti. Now the Yutis and Yadus have much in their early history to warrant the assertion of more than nominal analogy. The annals of the Yadus of Jaisalmer state that long anterior to Vikrama they held dominion from Ghazni to Samarkand: that they established themselves in those regions after the Mahabharata, or great war; and were again

trade to the stores : and thus caravans of thirty and forty cars, double-yoked, pass twice or thrice annually by the upper road to Nathdwara. These pious bounties are not allowed to moulder in the *bhandars* : the apparel is distributed with a liberal hand as the gift of the deity to those who evince their devotion ; and the edibles enter daily into the various food prepared at the shrine.

Food offered to Deities.—It has been remarked by the celebrated Goguet¹ that the custom of offering food to the object of divine homage had its origin in a principle of gratitude, the repast being deemed hallowed by presenting the first portion to him who gave it, since the devotee was unable to conceive aught more acceptable than that whereby life is sustained. From the earliest period such offerings have been tendered ; and in the burnt-offering (*hom*) of Abel, of the firstling of the flock, and the first portion of the repast presented by the Rajput to Annadeva² ‘the nourisher,’ the motive is the same. But the *parsad* (such is the denomination of the food sacred to Kanhaiya) is deemed unlucky, if not unholy ; a prejudice arising from the heterogeneous sources whence it is supplied—often from bequests of the dead. The Mukhyas [530] of the temple accordingly carry the sacred food to wheresoever the votaries dwell, which proves an irresistible stimulus to backward zeal, and produces an ample return. At

impelled, on the rise of Islamism, within the Indus. As Yadus of the race of Sham or Syam (a title of Krishna), they would be Sama-Yadus ; in like manner as the *Bhatti* tribe are called *Shama-bhatti*, the Alsham Bhatti of Abu-l Fazl. The race of *Joude* was existing near the Indus in the Emperor Babur’s time, who describes them as occupying the mountainous range in the first Duab, the very spot mentioned in the annals of the Yadus as their place of halt, on quitting India twelve centuries before Christ, and thence called *Jadu* or *Yadu-ka-dang*, the ‘hills of *Jadu* or *Yadu*.’ The peopling of all these regions, from the Indus to remote Tartary, is attributed to the race of *Ayu* or *Indu*, both signifying the moon, of which are the *Haihayas*, *Aswas* (*Asi*), *Yadus*, etc., who spread a common language over all Western Asia. Amongst the few words of Hindu-Germanic origin which M. Rémusat gives to prove affinity between the Finnish and Samoyede languages is “*Miel*, *Mod*, dans le dialecte Caucasicn, et *Méd*, en Slave,” and which, as well as *mead*, the drink of the Scandinavian warrior, is from the Sanskrit *Madhu*, a bee [honey]. Hence intoxicating beverage is termed *Madhva*, which supplies another epithet for Krishna, *Madhu* or *Madhava*. [These speculations possess no value.]

¹ *Origin of Laws and Government*.

² Literally ‘the giver of food.’

the same time are transmitted, as from the god, dresses of honour corresponding in material and value with the rank of the receiver : a diadem, or fillet of satin and gold, embroidered ; a *dagla*, or quilted coat of gold or silver brocade for the cold weather ; a scarf of blue and gold ; or if to one who prizes the gift less for its intrinsic worth than as a mark of special favour, a fragment of the garland worn on some festival by the god ; or a simple necklace, by which he is inaugurated amongst the elect.¹

Lands dedicated to the Shrine.—It has been mentioned that the lands of Mewar appropriated to the shrine are equal in value to a baronial appanage, and, as before observed, there is not a principality in India which does not assign a portion of its domain or revenue to this object. The Hara princes of Kotah and Bundi are almost exclusive worshippers of Kanhaiya, and the regent Zalim Singh is devoted to the maintenance of the dignity of the establishment. Everything at Kotah appertains to Kanhaiya. The prince has but the usufruct of the palace, for which £12,000 are annually transmitted to the shrine. The grand lake east of the town, with all its finny tenants, is under his especial protection ;² and the extensive suburb adjoining, with its rents, lands, and transit duties, all belong to the god. Zalim Singh moreover transmits to the high priest the most valuable shawls, broadcloths, and horses ; and throughout the long period of predatory warfare he maintained two Nishans,³ of a hundred firelocks each, for the protection of the temple. His favourite son, also, a child of love, is called Gordhandas, the ‘ slave of Gordhan,’ one of the many titles of Kanhaiya. The prince of Marwar went mad from the murder of the high priest of Jalandhara, the epithet

¹ *Kanhaiya ka kantha bāndhna*, ‘ to bind on [the neck] the chaplet of Kanhaiya,’ is the initiatory step.

² I had one day thrown my net into this lake, which abounded with a variety of fish, when my pastime was interrupted by a message from the regent, Zalim Singh : “ Tell Captain Tod that Kotah and all around it are at his disposal ; but these fish belong to Kanhaiya.” I, of course, immediately desisted, and the fish were returned to the safeguard of the deity. [The killing of fish at certain lakes and streams is forbidden on account of their harmlessness (*ahimsā*), and thus naturally associated with the cult of a gentle deity like Krishna, and because they are believed to contain the spirits of the dead (Stein, *Rājatarangini*, i. 185 ; Crooke, *Things Indian*, 221 ff.).]

³ A Nishan, or standard, is synonymous with a company.

given to Kanhaiya in that State; and the Raja of Sheopur,¹ the last of the Gaurs, lost his sovereignty by abandoning the worship of Har for that of Hari. The 'slave' of Radha² (such was the name of this prince) almost lived in the temple, and used to dance before the statue. Had he upheld the rights of him who wields [531] the trident, the tutelary deity of his capital, Sivapur, instead of the unwarlike divinity whose unpropitious title of Ranchhor should never be borne by the martial Rajput, his fall would have been more dignified, though it could not have been retarded when the overwhelming torrent of the Mahrattas under Sindhia swept Rajwara.³

Grants to the High Priest.—A distinction is made between the grants to the temple and those for the personal use of the pontiff, who at least affects never to apply any portion of the former to his own use, and he can scarcely have occasion to do so; but when from the stores of Apollo could be purchased the spices of the isles, the fruits of Persia, and the brocades of Gujarat, we may indulge our scepticism in questioning this forbearance: but the abuse has been rectified, and traffic banished from the temple. The personal grant (Appendix, No. XI.) to the high priest ought alone to have sufficed for his household expenditure, being twenty thousand rupees per annum, equal to £10,000 in Europe. But the ten thousand towns of Mewar, from each of which he levied a crown, now exist only in the old rent-roll, and the heralds of Apollo would in vain attempt to collect their tribute from two thousand villages.

The Appendix, No. XII., being a grant of privileges to a minor shrine of Kanhaiya, in his character of Muralidhar or 'flute-player,' contains much information on the minutiae of benefactions, and will afford a good idea of the nature of these revenues.

Effects of Krishna-worship on the Rājputs.—The predominance

¹ Sheopur or Sivapur, the city of Sheo or Siva, the god of war, whose battle-shout is *Har*; and hence one of Vishnu's epithets, as Hari is that of Krishna or Kanhaiya.

² Radha was the name of the chief of the Gopis or nymphs of Vraj, and the beloved of Kanhaiya.

³ In October 1807 I rambled through all these countries, then scarcely known by name to us. At that time Sheopur was independent, and its prince treated me with the greatest hospitality. In 1809 I witnessed its fall, when following with the embassy in the train of the Mahratta leader. [It is now included in the Gwalior State (*IGI*, xxii.-271 f.).]

of the mild doctrines of Kanhaiya over the dark rites of Siva, is doubtless beneficial to Rajput society. Were the prevention of female immolation the sole good resulting from their prevalence, that alone would conciliate our partiality ; a real worshipper of Vishnu should forbid his wife following him to the pyre, as did recently the Bundi prince. In fact, their tenderness to animal life is carried to nearly as great an excess as with the Jains, who shed no blood. Celibacy is not imposed upon the priests of Kanhaiya, as upon those of Siva : on the contrary, they are enjoined to marry, and the priestly office is hereditary by descent. Their wives do not burn, but are committed, like themselves, to the earth. They inculcate tenderness towards all beings ; though whether this feeling influences the mass, must depend on the soil which receives the seed, for the outward ceremonies of religion cost far less effort than the practice or essentials. I have often [532] smiled at the incessant aspirations of the Macchiavelli of Rajasthan, Zalim Singh, who, while he ejaculated the name of the god as he told his beads, was inwardly absorbed by mundane affairs ; and when one word would have prevented a civil war, and saved his reputation from the stain of disloyalty to his prince, he was, to use his own words, “ at four-score years and upwards, laying the foundation for another century of life.” And thus it is with the prince of Marwar, who esteems the life of a man or a goat of equal value when prompted by revenge to take it. Hope may silence the reproaches of conscience, and gifts and ceremonies may be deemed atonement for a deviation from the first principle of their religion—a benevolence which should comprehend every animated thing. But fortunately the princely worshippers of Kanhaiya are few in number : it is to the sons of commerce we must look for the effects of these doctrines ; and it is my pride and duty to declare that I have known men of both sects, Vaishnava and Jain, whose integrity was spotless, and whose philanthropy was unbounded.

CHAPTER 20

Krishna.—Hari, Krishna, familiarly Kanhaiya,¹ was of the celebrated tribe of Yadu, the founder of the fifty-six tribes² who obtained the universal sovereignty of India, and descended from Yayati, the third son³ of Swayambhuva Manu,⁴ or 'The Man, Lord of the earth,' whose daughter Ila⁵ (*Terra*) was espoused by Budha (Mercury), son of Chandra⁶ (the Moon), whence the Yadus are styled Chandravansi, or 'children of the moon.' Budha was therefore worshipped as the great [533] ancestor (*Pitrideva*) of the lunar race; and previous to the apotheosis of Krishna, was adored by all the Yadu race. The principal shrine of Budha was at Dwarka, where he still receives adoration as Budha Trivikrama.⁷ Kanhaiya lived towards the conclusion of the brazen age, calculated to have been about 1100 to 1200 years before Christ.⁸ He was born to the inheritance of Vraj,

¹ [Derived, through the Prākṛit, from Krishna.]

² *Chhappan kula Yadava*.

³ *Qu.* Japhet ? [?].

⁴ Also called *Vaivaswata Manu*—'the man, son of the sun.'

⁵ Ila, the earth—the Saxon *Ertha*. The Germans chiefly worshipped Tuisco or Teutates and Ertha, who are the Budha or Ila of the Rajputs [?].

⁶ A male divinity with the Rajputs, the Tatars, and ancient Germans.

⁷ 'Triple Energy' ['he who strides over the three worlds'], the Hermes Triplex of the Egyptians. [There is no cult of Budha at Dwarka.]

⁸ I shall here subjoin an extract of the rise and progress of Vaishnavism as written at my desire by the Mukhya of the temple :

"Twenty-five years of the Dwapar (the brazen age) were yet unexpired, when the incarnation (*avatar*) of Sri Krishna took place. Of these, eleven were passed at Gokul,* and fourteen at Mathura. There he used to manifest himself personally, especially at Govardhan. But when the Kaliyug (the iron age) commenced, he retired to Dwarka, an island separated by the ocean from Bharatkand,† where he passed a hundred years before he went to heaven. In Samvat 937 (A.D. 881) God decreed that the Hindu faith should be overturned, and that the Turushka‡ should rule. Then the

* A small town in the Jumna, below Mathura. Hence one of Krishna's titles is Gokulnath, 'Lord of Gokul.'

† The channel which separates the island of Dwarka from the mainland is filled up, except in spring tides. I passed it when it was dry.

‡ We possess no record of the invasion of India in A.D. 881, by the Turki tribes, half a century after Mamun's expedition from Zabulistan against Chitor, in the reign of Rawal Khuman [?].

the country of the Suraseni, comprehending the territory round Mathura for a space of eighty miles, of which he was unjustly deprived in his infancy by his relative Kansa. From its vicinity to Delhi we may infer either that there was no lord paramount amongst the Yadus of this period, or that Krishna's family held as vassals of Hastinapur, then, with Indraprastha or Delhi, the chief seat of Yadu power. There were two princes named Surasen amongst the immediate predecessors of Krishna : one, his grandfather, the other eight generations anterior. Which of these was the founder of Suryapur on the Yamuna, the capital of the Yadus,¹ we know not, but we may assume that the first gave his name to the region around Mathura, described by Arrian as the country of the Suraseni. Alexander was in India probably about eight centuries after the deification of Krishna, and it is satisfactory to find that the inquiries he instituted into the genealogy of the dynasty then ruling on the [534] Yamuna correspond very closely with those of the Yadus of this distant period ; and combined with what Arrian says of the origin of the Pandus, it appears indisputable that the descendants of this powerful branch of the Yadus ruled on the Yamuna when the Macedonian erected the

jizya, or capitation tax, was inflicted on the head of the Hindu. Their faith also suffered much from the Jains and the various infidel (*asura*) sects which abounded. The Jains were so hostile, that Brahma manifested himself in the shape of Sankaracharya who destroyed them and their religion at Benares. In Gujarat, by their magic, they made the moon appear at Amavas.* Sankara foretold to its prince, Siddhraj,† the flood then approaching, who escaped in a boat and fled to Toda, on which occasion all the Vidyas‡ (magicians) in that country perished." [For a more correct version of Krishna's legend see Growse, *Mathura*, 3rd ed.; for Vaishnavism, R. G. Bhandarkar, "Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems," in *Grundriss Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertums-kunde*, 1913.]

¹ For an account of the discovery of the remains of this ancient city, see *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 314.

* The ides of the month, when the moon is obscured.

† He ruled Samvat 1151 (A.D. 1095) to S. 1201 (A.D. 1145).

‡ Still used as a term of reproach to the Jains and Buddhists, in which, and other points, as *Ari* (the foe, qu. *Aria* ?), they bear a strong resemblance to the followers of the Arian Zardusht, or Zoroaster. Amongst other peculiarities, the ancient Persian fire-worshipper, like the present Jain, placed a bandage over the mouth while worshipping.

altars of Greece on the Indus. That the personage whose epithets of Krishna-Syam designate his colour as 'the Black Prince,' was in fact a distinguished chief of the Yadus, there is not a shadow of doubt; nor that, after his death, they placed him among the gods as an incarnation of Vishnu or the Sun; and from this period we may induce the Hindu notion of their Trinity. Arrian¹ enumerates the names of Boudyas (*Βουδίας*) and Kradeuas (*Κραδεύας*) amongst the early ancestors of the tribe then in power, which would alone convince us that Alexander had access to the genealogies of the Puranas; for we can have little hesitation in affirming these to be Budha and Kroshti, ancestors of Krishna; and that "Mathora and Cleisobora, the chief cities of the Suraseni," are the Mathura and Suryapur occupied by the descendants of Sursen.² Had Arrian afforded as many hints for discussing the analogy between the Hindu and Grecian Apollos as he has for the Hercules of Thebes and India, we might have come to a conclusion that the three chief divinities³ of Egypt, Greece, and India had their altars first erected on the Indus, Ganges, and Jumna.

Sun and Moon Worship.—The earliest objects of adoration in these regions were the sun and moon, whose names designated the two grand races, Surya and Chandra of Indu. Budha, son of Indu, married Ila, a grandchild of Surya, from which union sprung the Indu race. They deified their ancestor Budha, who continued to be the chief object of adoration until Krishna; hence the worship of Balnath⁴ and Budha⁵ were coeval. That the Nomadic tribes of Arabia, as well as those of Tartary and India, adored the same objects, we learn from the earliest writers; and Job, the probable contemporary of Hasti, the founder of the first capital of the Yadus on the Ganges, boasts in the midst of his griefs that he had always remained uncorrupted by the Sabaeism which surrounded him. "If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my mouth had kissed my hand, this also were an iniquity to be punished by the

¹ [Arrian, *Indika*, viii.]

² [Growse (*Mathura*, 279) suggests that Cleisobora is Krishnapura, 'Krishna's city.']

³ Hercules, Mercury, and Apollo; *Balaram*, *Budha*, and *Kanhaiya*.

⁴ The 'God Bal,' the Vivifier, the Sun [?].

⁵ Budha signifies 'wisdom.'

judge, for I should have denied the [535] God that is above.”¹ That there were many Hindus who, professing a pure monotheism like Job, never kissed the hand either to Surya or his herald Budha, we may easily credit from the sublimity of the notions of the ‘One God,’ expressed both by the ancients and moderns, by poets and by princes, of both races ;² but more especially by the sons of Budha, who for ages bowed not before graven images, and deemed it impious to raise a temple to

The Spirit in whose honour shrines are weak.

Hence the Jains, the chief sect of the Buddhists,³ so called from adoring the spirit (Jina), were untinged with idolatry until the apotheosis of Krishna,⁴ whose mysteries superseded the simpler worship of Budha. Neminath (the deified Nemi) was the pontiff of Budha, and not only the contemporary of Krishna, but a Yadu, and his near relation ; and both had epithets denoting their complexion ; for Arishta, the surname of Nemi, has the same import as Syam and Krishna, ‘the black,’ though the latter is of a less Ethiopic hue than Nemi.⁵ It was anterior to this schism amongst the sons of Budha that the creative power was degraded under sensual forms, when the pillar rose to Bal or Surya in Syria and on the Ganges : and the serpent, “subtlest beast of all the field,” worshipped as the emblem of wisdom (Budha), was conjoined with the symbol of the creative power, as at the shrine of Eklinga, where the brazen serpent is wreathed round the lingam.⁶ Budha’s descendants, the Indus, preserved

¹ Job chap. xxxi. 26, 27, 28.

² Chand, the bard, after having separately invoked the three persons of the Hindu triad, says that he who believes them distinct, “hell will be his portion.”

³ [The Jains were not a Buddhist sect.]

⁴ A very curious cause was assigned by an eminent Jain priest for the innovation of enshrining and worshipping the forms of the twenty-four pontiffs : namely, that the worship of Kanhaiya, before and after the apotheosis, became quite a rage amongst the women, who crowded his shrines, drawing after them all the youth of the Jains ; and that, in consequence, they made a statue of Neminath to counteract a fervour that threatened the existence of their faith. It is seldom we are furnished with such rational reasons for religious changes.

⁵ [Neminātha was the twenty-second Jain Tirthakara or deified saint. Arishta means ‘unhurt, perfect.’]

⁶ It was the serpent (Budha) who ravished Ila, daughter of Ikshwaku, the son of Manu, whence the distinctive epithet of his descendants in the

the Ophite sign of their race, when Krishna's followers adopted the eagle as his symbol. These, with the adorers of Surya, form the three idolatrous classes of India, not confined to its modern [536] restricted definition, but that of antiquity, when Indus than or Indu-Scythia extended from the Ganges to the Caspian. In support of the position that the existing polytheism was unknown on the rise of Vaishnavism, we may state, that in none of the ancient genealogies do the names of such deities appear as proper names in society, a practice now common ; and it is even recorded that the rites of magic, the worship of the host of heaven, and of idols, were introduced from Kashmir, between the periods of Krishna and Vikrama. The powers of nature were personified, and each quality, mental and physical, had its emblem, which the Brāhmans taught the ignorant to adopt as realities, till the pantheon become so crowded that life would be too short to acquire even the nomenclature of their 'thirty-three millions of gods.'¹ No object was too high or too base, from the glorious Orb to the Rampi, or paring-knife of the shoemaker. In illustration of the increase of polytheism, I shall describe the seven forms under which Krishna is worshipped, whose statues are established in the various capitals of Rajasthan, and are occasionally brought together at the festival of Annakuta at Nathdwara.

The international wars of the Suryas and the Yadu races, as described in the Ramayana and Mahabharata, are lost between allegory and literal interpretation. The Suryas, or Saivas, were depressed ; and the Indus, who counted 'fifty-six' grand tribes, under the appellations of Takshak, 'serpent,' Aswa, 'horse,' Sasa, 'hare,' etc., etc., had paramount sway. Krishna's schism produced a new type, that of the eagle, and the wars of

East, *Manus*, or men, the very tradition on an ancient sculptured column in the south of India, which evidently points to the primoval mystery. In Portici there is an exact *lingam* entwined with a brazen serpent, brought from the temple of Isis at Pompeii : and many of the same kind, in mosaic, decorate the floors of the dwelling-houses. But the most singular coincidence is in the wreaths of *lingams* and the *yonis* over the door of the minor temple of Isis at Pompeii ; while on another front is painted the rape of Venus by Mercury (Budha and Ila). The Lunar race, according to the Puranas, are the issue of the rape of Ila by Budha. *Aphak* is a serpent in Hebrew. *Ahi* and *Sarpa* are two of its many appellations in Sanskrit. [These speculations are now obsolete.]

¹ *Taintis krur devata.*

the schismatics were depicted under their respective emblems, the eagle and serpent, of which latter were the Kauravas and Takshaks,¹ the political adversaries of the Pandus, the relatives of Krishna. The [537] allegory of Krishna's eagle pursuing the serpent Budha, and recovering the books of science and religion with which he fled, is an historical fact disguised : namely, that of Krishna incorporating the doctrines of Budha with his own after the expulsion of the sect from India. Dare we further attempt to lift the veil from this mystery, and trace from the seat of redemption of lost science its original source ? ² The Gulf of Cutch, the point where the serpent attempted to escape, has been from time immemorial to the present day the entrepôt for the commerce of Sofala, the Red Sea, Egypt, and Arabia. There

¹ The Mahabharata records constant wars from ancient times amongst the children of Surya (the sun), and the Tak or Takshak (serpent races). The horse of the sun, liberated preparatory to sacrifice, by the father of Rama, was seized by the Takshak Ananta ; and Janamejaya, king of Delhi, grandson of Pandu, was killed by one of the same race. In both instances the Takshak is literally rendered the snake. The successor of Janamejaya carried war into the seats of this Tak or serpent race, and is said to have sacrificed 20,000 of them in revenge ; but although it is specifically stated that he subsequently compelled them to sign tributary engagements (*paenama*), the Brahmans have nevertheless distorted a plain historical fact by a literal and puerile interpretation. The Paraitakai (*Mountain-Tak*) of Alexander were doubtless of this race, as was his ally Taxiles, which appellation was titular, as he was called Omphis till his father's death. It is even probable that this name is the Greek *Ὀφίς*, in which they recognized the tribe of the Tak or Snake. Taxiles may be compounded of *is*, 'lord or chief,' *sila*, 'rock or mountain,' and Tak, 'lord of the mountain Tak,' whose capital was in the range west of the Indus. We are indebted to the Emperor Babur for the exact position of the capital of this celebrated race, which he passed in his route of conquest. We have, however, an intermediate notice of it between Alexander and Babur, in the early history of the Yadu Bhatti, who came in conflict with the Taks on their expulsion from Zabulistan and settlement in the Panjab. [The Paraitakai or Paraitakenai have no connexion with Tāk or Takshak, the first part of the name perhaps representing Skt. *parvata*, 'a mountain,' or *pahār* in the modern dialect. They lived in the hill country between the rivers Oxus and Jaxartes (McCrindle, *Alexander*, 57). Omphis represents the Āmbhi, king of Taxila, a name supposed to mean 'rock of the Tāk tribe' (*ibid.* 413 ; Smith, *EHI*, 60), or, more probably, 'city of cut stone.']

² The Buddhists appeared in this peninsula and the adjacent continent was the cradle of Buddhism, and here are three of the 'five' sacred mounts of their faith, *i.e.* Girnar, Satrunjaya and Abu. The Author purposes giving, hereafter, an account of his journey through these classic regions. [He refers to Jains ; Buddhism arose in Bihār.]

Budha Trivikrama, or Mercury, has been and is yet invoked by the Indian mariners, especially the pirates of Dwarka. Did Budha or Mercury come from, or escape to the Nile? Is he the Hermes of Egypt to whom the 'four books of science,' like the four Vedas¹ of the Hindus, were sacred? The statues of Nemi,² the representative of Budha, exactly resemble in feature the bust of young Memnon.³

I have already observed that Krishna, before his own deification, worshipped his great ancestor Budha; and his temple at Dwarka rose over the ancient shrine of the latter, which yet stands. In an inscription from the cave of Gaya their characters are conjoined: "Hari who is Budha." According to Western mythology, Apollo and Mercury exchanged symbols, the caduceus for the lyre; so likewise in India their characters intermingle: and even the Saiva propitiates Hari as the mediator and disposer of the 'divine spark' (*gyoti*) to its reunion with the 'parent-flame':—thus, like Mercury, he may be said to be the conveyer of the souls of the dead. Accordingly in funeral lamentation his name only is invoked, and *Hari-bol! Hari-bol!* is emphatically pronounced by those conveying the corpse to its final abode. The *vahan* (*qu.* the Saxon *van*?) or celestial car of Krishna, in which the souls (*ansa*) of the just are conveyed to Suryamandal, the 'mansion of the sun,' is painted like himself, blue (indicative of space, or as Ouranos), with the eagle's head; and here he partakes of the Mercury of the [538] Greeks, and of Oulios, the preserver or saviour, one of the titles of Apollo at Delos.⁴

¹ The Buddhists and Jains are stigmatized as *Vidyavan*, which, signifying 'possessed of science,' is interpreted 'magician.'

² He is called *Arishta-Nemi*, 'the black Nemi,' from his complexion.

³ [The connexion of Hindu with Egyptian beliefs is no longer admitted.]

⁴ The Sun-god (Kan, according to Diodorus) is the Minos of the Egyptians. The hieroglyphics at Turin represent him with the head of an ibis, or eagle, with an altar before him, on which a shade places his offerings, namely, a goose, cakes of bread, and flowers of the lotus, and awaits in humble attitude his doom. In Sanskrit the same word means *soul*, *goose*, and *swan* [?], and the Hindu poet is always punning upon it; though it might be deemed a levity to represent the immaterial portion under so unclassical an emblem. The lotus flowers are alike sacred to the Kan of the Egyptians as to Kanhaiya the mediator of the Hindus, and both are painted blue and bird-headed. The claims of Kanhaiya (contracted Kan) as the sun divinity of the Hindus will be abundantly illustrated in the account of the festivals. [The above theories are obsolete.]

The Forms of Krishna.—The Tatar nations, who are all of Indu race, like the Rajputs and German tribes, adored the moon as a male divinity, and to his son, Budha, they assign the same character of mediator. The serpent is alike the symbol of the Budha of the Hindus, the Hermes of the Egyptians, and the Mercury of Greece : and the allegory of the dragon's teeth, the origin of letters, brought by Cadmus from Egypt, is a version of the Hindu fable of Kanhaiya (Apollo) wresting the Vedas (secrets) from Budha or wisdom (Hermes), under his sign, the serpent or dragon. We might still further elucidate the resemblance, and by an analysis of the titles and attributes of the Hindu Apollo, prove that from the Yamuna may have been supplied the various incarnations of this divinity, which peopled the pantheons of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. As Nomios, who attended the herds of Admetus, we have Nonita,¹ the infantine appellation of Kanhaiya, when he pastured the kine of Kesava in the woods of Vindra, whence the ceremony of the sons of princes assuming the crook, and on particular days tending the flocks.² As Muralidhara, or the 'flute-holder,' Kanhaiya is the god of music ; and in giving him the shepherd's reed instead of the *vina* or lyre, we may conjecture that the simple bamboo (*bans*) which formed the first flute (*bansli*) was in use before the *chahtara*,³ the Grecian cithara,⁴ the first invented lyre of Apollo. Thus from the six-

¹ I do not mean to derive any aid from the resemblance of names, which is here merely accidental. [Nonita probably=*navanīta*, 'fresh butter,' a dairy god (Macdonell-Keith, *Vedic Index*, i. 437).]

² When I heard the octogenarian ruler of Kotah ask his grandson, "Bapalal, have you been tending the cows to-day?" my surprise was converted into pleasure on the origin of the custom being thus classically explained.

³ From *chha*, 'six,' and *tar*, 'a string or wire.'

⁴ Strabo says the Greeks consider music as originating from Thrace and Asia, of which countries were Orpheus, Musaeus, etc.; and that others "who regard all Asia, as far as India, as a country sacred to Dionysus (Bacchus), attribute to that country the invention of nearly all the science of music. We perceive them sometimes describing the cithara of the Asiatic, and sometimes applying to flutes the epithet of Phrygian. The names of certain instruments, such as the *nabla*, and others likewise, are taken from barbarous tongues." This *nabla* of Strabo is possibly the *tabla*, the small tabor of India. If Strabo took his orthography from the Persian or Arabic, a single point would constitute the difference between the *N* (ن) and the *T* (ت). [The Arabic *tabl*, *tabla*, has no connexion with Greek *νάβλα*, Hebrew *nercl*.]

wired instrument of the Hindus we have the Greek cithara, the English cithern, and the Spanish guitar of modern [539] days. The Greeks, following the Egyptians, had but six notes, with their lettered symbols; and it was reserved for the Italians to add a seventh. Guido-Aretine, a monk in the thirteenth century, has the credit of this. I, however, believe the Hindus numbered theirs from the heavenly bodies—the Sun, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn,—hence they had the regular octave, with its semi-tones: and as, in the pruriency of their fancy, they converted the ascending and descending notes into *grahas*, or planetary bodies, so they may have added them to the harmonious numbers, and produced the *nauragini*, their *nine* modes of music.¹ Could we affirm that the hymns composed and set to music by Jayadeva, nearly three thousand years ago,² and still chanted in honour of the Apollo of Vraj, had been handed down with the sentiments of these mystic compositions (and Sir W. Jones sanctions the idea), we should say, from their simplicity, that the musicians of that age had only the diatonic scale; but we have every reason to believe, from the very elaborate character of their written music, which is painful and discordant to the ear from its minuteness of subdivision, that they had also the chromatic scale, said to have been invented by Timotheus in the time of Alexander, who might have carried it from the banks of the Indus.

The Rāsmandal Dance.—In the mystic dance, the *Rasmandal*, yet imitated on the annual festival sacred to the sun-god Hari, he is represented with a radiant crown in a dancing attitude, playing on the flute to the nymphs encircling him, each holding a musical instrument.

¹ An account of the state of musical science amongst the Hindus of early ages, and a comparison between it and that of Europe, is yet a desideratum in Oriental literature. From what we already know of the science, it appears to have attained a theoretical precision yet unknown to Europe, and that at a period when even Greece was little removed from barbarism. The inspirations of the bards of the first ages were all set to music; and the children of the most powerful potentates sang the episodes of the great epics of Valmiki and Vyasa. There is a distinguished member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and perhaps the only one, who could fill up this hiatus; and we may hope that the leisure and inclination of the Right Honourable Sir Gore Ouseley will tempt him to enlighten us on this most interesting point.

² [The lyrical drama of Jayadeva, *Gītagovinda*, dates from the twelfth century A.D. (Macdonell, *Hist. Sanskrit Literature*, 344 f.).]

In song and dance about the sacred hill ;
 Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere
 Of planets and of fixed in all her wheels
 Resembles nearest ; mazes intricate,
 Eccentric, intervolved, yet regular
 Then most, when most irregular they seem ;
 And in their motions harmony divine
 So smooths her charming tones that God's own ear
 Listens delighted.

MILTON, *Paradise Lost*, Book v. 619-277

These nymphs are also called the *nauragini*, from *raga*, a mode of song over which each presides, and *naurasa*, or 'nine passions,' excited by the powers [540] of harmony. May we not in this trace the origin of Apollo and the sacred nine ? In the manner described above, the *rasmandal* is typical of the zodiacal phenomena ; and in each sign a musical nymph is sculptured in alto-relievo, in the vaulted temples dedicated to the god,¹ or in secular edifices by way of ornament, as in the triumphal column of Chitor. On the festival of the Janam,² or 'birth-day,' there is a scenic representation of Kanhaiya and the Gopis : when are rehearsed in the mellifluous accents of the Ionic land of Vraj, the songs of Jayadeva, as addressed by Kanhaiya to Radha and her companions. A specimen of these, as translated by that elegant scholar, Sir W. Jones, may not be considered inappropriate here.

The Songs of Jayadeva.—I have had occasion to remark elsewhere,³ that the Rajput bards, like the heroic Scalds of the north, lose no opportunity of lauding themselves ; of which Jayadeva, the bard of the Yadus, has set an eminent example in the opening of 'the songs of Govinda.'

"If thy soul be delighted with the remembrance of Hari, or sensible to the raptures of love, listen to the voice of Jayadeva, whose notes are both sweet and brilliant."

¹ I have often been struck with a characteristic analogy in the sculptures of the most ancient Saxon cathedrals in England and on the Continent, to Kanhaiya and the Gopis. Both may be intended to represent divine harmony. Did the Asi and Jits of Scandinavia, the ancestors of the Saxons, bring them from Asia ?

² [The Janamashtami, Krishna's birthday, is celebrated on the 8th dark half of Sāwan (July-August).]

³ *Trans. Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 146. .

The poet opens the first interview of Krishna and Radha with animated description of a night in the rainy season, in which he is represented as a wanderer, and Radha, daughter of the herdsman Nanda, is sent to offer him shelter in their cot.¹ Nanda speaks to Radha : " The firmament is obscured by clouds ; woodlands are black with Tamala trees ; that youth who is in the forest will be fearful in the gloom of night ; go, my daughter, bring the wanderer to my rustic mansion. Such was the command of Nanda the herdsman, and hence arose the love of Radha and Madhava."²

The poet proceeds to apostrophize Hari, which the Hindu bard terms *rupaka*, or ' personal description ' :

" Oh thou who reclinest on the bosom of Kamala, whose ears flame with gems, and whose locks are embellished with sylvan flowers ; thou, from whom the [541] day-star derived his effulgence, who slewest the venom-breathing Kaliya, who beamedst like a sun on the tribe of Yadu, that flourished like a lotus ; thou, who sittest on the plumage of Garuda, who sippest nectar from the radiant lips of Padma, as the fluttering chakora drinks the moonbeams ; be victorious, O Hari."

Jayadeva then introduces Hari in the society of the pastoral nymphs of Vraj, whom he groups with admirable skill, expressing the passion by which each is animated towards the youthful prince with great warmth and elegance of diction. But Radha, indignant that he should divide with them the affection she deemed exclusively her own, flies his presence. Hari, repentant and alarmed, now searches the forest for his beloved, giving vent at each step to impassioned grief. " Woe is me ! she feels a sense of injured honour, and has departed in wrath. How will she conduct herself ? How will she express her pain in so long a separation ? What is wealth to me ? What are numerous attendants ? What the pleasures of the world ? How can I invite thee to return ? Grant me but a sight of thee, oh ! lovely Radha, for my passion torments me. O God of love ! mistake me not for Siva. Wound me not again. I love already but too passionately ; yet have I lost my beloved. Brace not thy bow, thou conqueror of the world ! My heart is already pierced by arrows from Radha's eyes, black and keen as those of the antelope."

¹ [Rādhā was daughter of Vrishabhānu.]

² *Madho* in the dialect of Vraj.

Radha relents and sends a damsel in quest of Hari, whom she finds in a solitary arbour on the banks of the Yamuna. She describes her mistress as animated by the same despair which controls him :

“ Her face is like a water-lily veiled in the dew of tears, and her eyes are as moons eclipsed. She draws thy picture and worships it, and at the close of every sentence exclaims, ‘ O Madhava, at thy feet am I fallen ! ’ Then she figures thee standing before her : she sighs, she smiles, she mourns, she weeps. Her abode, the forest—herself through thy absence is become a timid roe, and love is the tiger who springs on her, like Yama, the genius of death. So emaciated is her beautiful body, that even the light garland which waves o’er her bosom is a load. The palm of her hand supports her aching temple, motionless as the crescent rising at eve. Thus, O divine healer, by the nectar of thy love [542] must Radha be restored to health ; and if thou refusest, thy heart must be harder than the thunder-stone.” ¹

The damsel returns to Radha and reports the condition of Hari, mourning her absence : “ Even the hum of the bee distracts him. Misery sits fixed in his heart, and every returning night adds anguish to anguish.” She then recommends Radha to seek him. “ Delay not, O loveliest of women ; follow the lord of thy heart. Having bound his locks with forest flowers, he hastens to yon arbour, where a soft gale breathes over the banks of Yamuna, and there pronouncing thy name, he modulates his divine reed. Leave behind thee, O friend, the ring which tinkles on thy delicate ankle when thou sportest in the dance. Cast over thee thy azure mantle and run to the shady bower.”

But Radha, too weak to move, is thus reported to Hari by the same fair mediator : “ She looks eagerly on all sides in hope of thy approach : she advances a few steps and falls languid to the ground. She weaves bracelets of fresh leaves, and looking at herself in sport, exclaims, behold the vanquisher of Madhu ! Then she repeats the name of Hari, and catching at a dark blue cloud,² strives to embrace it, saying, ‘ It is my beloved who approaches.’ ”

¹ We meet with various little philosophical phenomena used as similes in this rhapsody of Jayadeva. These *aërolites*, mentioned by a poet the contemporary of David and Solomon, are but recently known to the European philosopher. [But one was worshipped at Rome in B.C. 204.]

² This is, in allusion to the colour of Krishna, a dark blue.

Midnight arrives, but neither Hari nor the damsel returns, when she gives herself up to the frenzy of despair, exclaiming : " The perfidy of my friend rends my heart. Bring disease and death, O gale of Malaya ! receive me in thy azure wave, O sister of Yama,¹ that the ardour of my heart may be allayed."

The repentant Hari at length returns, and in speech well calculated to win forgiveness, thus pleads his pardon :

" Oh ! grant me a draught of honey from the lotus of thy mouth : or if thou art inexorable, grant me death from the arrows of thine eyes ; make thy arms my chains : thou art my ornament ; thou art the pearl in the ocean of my mortal birth ! Thine eyes, which nature formed like blue water-lilies, are become through thy resentment like petals of the crimson lotus ! Thy silence affects me ; oh ! speak with the voice of music, and let thy sweet accents allay my ardour " [543].

" Radha with timid joy, darting her eyes on Govinda while she musically sounded the rings of her ankles and the bells of her zone,² entered the mystic bower of her beloved. His heart was agitated by her sight, as the waves of the deep are affected by the lunar orb.³ From his graceful waist flowed a pale yellow robe,⁴ which resembled the golden dust of the water-lily scattered over its blue petals.⁵ His locks interwoven with blossoms, were like a cloud variegated by the moonbeam. Tears of transport gushed in a stream from the full eyes of Radha, and their watery glances beamed on her best beloved. Even shame, which had before taken its abode in their dark pupils, was itself ashamed,⁶ and departed when the fawn-eyed Radha gazed on the bright face of Krishna."

¹ The Indian Pluto ; she is addressing the Yamuna.

² Thus the ancient statues do not present merely the sculptor's fancy in the zone of bells with which they are ornamented.

³ This is a favourite metaphor with the bards of India, to describe the alternations of the exciting causes of love ; and it is yet more important as showing that Jayadeva was the philosopher as well as the poet of nature, in making the action of the moon upon the tides the basis of this beautiful simile.

⁴ This yellow robe or mantle furnishes another title of the Sun-god, namely, *Pitambara*, typical of the resplendence which precedes his rising and setting.

⁵ It will be again necessary to call to mind the colour of Krishna, to appreciate this elegant metaphor.

⁶ This idea is quite new.

The poet proceeds to describe Apollo's bower on the sable Yamuna, as 'Love's recess'; and sanctifies it as

. . . The ground
Where early Love his Psyche's zone unbound.¹

In the morning the blue god aids in Radha's simple toilet. He stains her eye with antimony "which would make the blackest bee envious," places "a circle of musk on her forehead," and intertwines "a chaplet of flowers and peacock's feathers in her dark tresses," replacing "the zone of golden bells." The bard concludes as he commenced, with an eulogium on the inspirations of his muse, which it is evident were set to music. "Whatever is delightful in the modes of music, whatever is graceful in the fine strains of poetry, whatever is exquisite in the sweet art of love, let the happy and wise learn from the songs of Jayadeva."

The Rāsmāṇḍal Dance.—This mystic dance, the *rasmandal*, appears analogous to the Pyrrhic dance, or the fire-dance of the Egyptians. The movements of those who personate the deity and his fair companions are full [544] of grace, and the dialogue is replete with harmony.² The *Chaubes*³ of Mathura and Vind-ravana have considerable reputation as vocalists; and the effect of the modulated and deep tones of the adult blending with the clear treble of the juvenile performers, while the time is marked by the cymbal or the soothing monotony of the tabor, accompanied occasionally by the *murali* or flute, is very pleasing.

¹ *Childe Harold*, Canto iii.

² The anniversary of the birth of Kanhaiya is celebrated with splendour at Sindhia's court, where the author frequently witnessed it, during a ten years' residence.

³ The priests of Kanhaiya, probably so called from the *chob* or club with which, on the annual festival, they assault the castle of Kansa, the tyrant usurper of Krishna's birthright, who, like Herod, ordered the slaughter of all the youth of Vraj, that Krishna might not escape. These *Chaubēs* are most likely the *Sobii* of Alexander, who occupied the chief towns of the Panjab, and who, according to Arrian, worshipped Hercules (*Hari-kul-es*, chief of the race of *Hari*), and were armed with clubs. The mimic assault of Kansa's castle by some hundreds of these robust church militants, with their long clubs covered with iron rings, is well worth seeing. [The *Chaubē* Brāhmans of Mathura do not take their name from *Chob*, 'a club,' but from *Skt. Chaturvedin*, 'learned in the four Vedas.' By the *Sobii* the Author means the *Sibi* or *Sivaya*, inhabiting a district between the Hydaspes and the Indus (McCrindle, *Alexander*, 366). They have no possible connexion with the Mathura *Chaubēs*.]

Govardhana.—We have a Parnassus in Govardhana, from which sacred hill the god derives one of his principal epithets, Gordhan or Gordhannath, ‘God of the mount of wealth.’¹ Here he first gave proofs of miraculous power, and a cave in this hill was the first shrine, on his apotheosis, whence his miracles and oracles were made known to the Yadus. From this cave (*gupha*) is derived another of his titles—Guphnath, ‘Lord of the cave,’ distinct from his epithet Gopinath, ‘Lord of the Gopis,’² or pastoral nymphs. On the annual festival held at Govardhana, the sacred mount is purified with copious oblations of milk, for which all the cows of the district are in requisition.

Cave Worship of Krishna.—The worship of Krishna in ancient days, like that of Apollo amongst the Greeks, was chiefly celebrated in caves, of which there were many scattered over India. The most remarkable were those of Govardhana in Vraj; Gaya in Bihar; Gopnath on the shores of Saurashtra; and Jalandhara³ on the Indus. In these dark and mysterious retreats superstition had her full influence over the votaries who sought the commands and deprecated the wrath of the deity: but, as the Mukhya told the author, “the age of oracles and miracles is past”; and the new wheel, which was miraculously furnished each revolving year to supply the place of that which first indicated his desire to abide at Nathdwara, is no longer forthcoming. The old one, which was the signal of his wish, is, however, preserved as a relic, and greatly revered. The statue now worshipped at Nathdwara, as the representative of ‘the god of the mount’ [545], is said to be the identical image raised in the cave of Govardhana, and brought thence by the high priest Balba.⁴

¹ [Govardhana means ‘nourisher of cattle.’]

² [The title Guphanātha is not recorded.]

³ Jalandhara on the Indus is described by the Emperor Babur as a very singular spot, having numerous caves. The deity of the caves of Jalandhara is the tutelary deity of the Prince of Marwar. [When the body of Daksha was cut up, the breast fell at Jālandhar; the Daitya king, Jālandhara, was crushed by Siva under the Jawālamukhi hill (*Ām*, ii. 314 f.).]

⁴ [Cave worship does not seem to be specially connected with the cult of Krishna. The mention of the cave at Govardhan seems to refer to the legend of Krishna protecting the people of Braj from a storm sent by Indra, by holding the hill over them (Growse, *op. cit.* 60). The Gaya caves are Buddhistic, and have no connexion with Krishna (*IGI*, xii. 198 f.). Guphanāth does not seem to be a Krishna title, and the cave of Gopnāth in Kāthiāwar is said to derive its name from Gopsinghji, a Gohil prince, who reigned in the sixteenth century (*BG*, viii. 445).]

Krishna a Dragon-Slayer.—As the destroyer of Kaliyanag, ‘the black serpent,’ which infested the waters of the Yamuna, Kanhaiya has the character of the Pythic Apollo. He is represented dragging the monster from the ‘black stream,’ and bruising him with his foot. He had, however, many battles with his hydra-foe ere he vanquished him, and he was once driven by Kalayavana from Vraj to Dwarka, whence his title of Ranchhor. Here we have the old allegory of the schismatic wars of the Buddhists and Vaishnavas.

Parallels to Krishna in other Mythologies.—Diodorus informs us that *Kan* was one of the titles of the Egyptian Apollo as the sun; and this is the common contraction for Kanhaiya, whose colour is a dark cerulean blue (*nila*): and hence his name Nilanath, who, like the Apollo of the Nile, is depicted with the human form and eagle-head, with a lotus in his hand. S and H are permutable letters in the Bhakha, and Syam or Sham, the god of the Yamuna, may be the *Ham* or Hammon of Egypt. Hari accompanied Rama to Lanka, as did the Egyptian Apollo, Rameses-Sesostris, on his expedition to India: both were attended in their expedition by an army of Satyrs, or tribes bearing the names of different animals: and as we have the Aswas, the Takshaks, and the Sasas of the Yadu tribes, typified under the horse, the serpent, and the hare, so the races of Surya, of which Rama was the head, may have been designated Riksh and Hanuman, or bears and monkeys. The distance of the Nile from the Indian shore forms no objection; the sail spread for Ceylon could waft the vessel to the Red Sea, which the fleets of Tyre, of Solomon, and Hiram covered about this very time. That the Hindus navigated the ocean from the earliest ages, the traces of their religion in the isles of the Indian archipelago sufficiently attest; but on this subject we have already said enough.

The coincidence between the most common epithets of the Apollos of Greece and India, as applied to the sun, are peculiarly striking. Hari, as Bhannath, ‘the lord of beams,’ is Phoebus, and his heaven is Haripur (Heliopolis), or ‘city of Hari.’¹ Helios (Ἥλιος) was a title of Apollo, whence the Greeks had their

¹ “In Hebrew *heres* signifies the sun, but in Arabic the meaning of the radical word is to guard, preserve; and of *haris*, guardian, preserver” (Volney’s *Ruins of Empires*, p. 316). [Needless to say, Elysium (Ἠλύσιον πεδίων) has no connexion with Ἥλιος, the sun.]

Elysium, the Haripur or Bhanthan (the abode of the sun), the highest of the [546] heavens or abodes of bliss of the martial Rajput. Hence the eagle (the emblem of Hari as the sun)¹ was adopted by the western warrior as the symbol of victory.

The Di Majores of the Rajput are the same in number and title as amongst the Greeks and Romans, being the deities who figuratively preside over the planetary system. Their grades of bliss are therefore in unison with the eccentricity of orbit of the planet named. On this account Chandra or Indu, the moon, being a mere satellite of Ila, the earth, though probably originating the name of the Indu race, is inferior in the scale of blissful abodes to that of his son Budha or Mercury, whose heliacal appearance gave him importance even with the sons of Vaivasvata, the sun. From the poetic seers of the martial races we learn that there are two distinct places of reward; the one essentially spiritual, the other of a material nature. The bard inculcates that the warrior who falls in battle in the fulfilment of his duty, "who abandons life through the wave of steel," will know no "second birth," but that the unconfined spark (*jyotis*) will reunite to the parent orb. The doctrine of transmigration through a variety of hideous forms may be considered as a series of purgatories.

The Greeks and Celts worshipped Apollo under the title of Carneios,² which "selon le scholiaste de Théocrite" is derived from Carnos, "qui ne prophétisoit que des malheurs aux Héraclides lors de leur incursion dans le Péloponnèse. Un d'eux appelé *Hippotés*, le tua d'un coup de flèche." Now one of the titles of the Hindu Apollo is Karna, 'the radiant'; from *karna*, 'a ray': and when he led the remains of the Harikulas in company

¹ The heaven of Vishnu, Vaikuntha, is entirely of gold, and 80,000 miles in circumference. Its edifices, pillars, and ornaments are composed of precious stones. The crystal waters of the Ganges form a river in Vaikuntha, where are lakes filled with blue, red, and white water-lilies, each of a hundred and even a thousand petals. On a throne glorious as the meridian sun resting on water-lilies, is Vishnu, with Lakshmi or Sri, the goddess of abundance (the Cores of the Egyptians and Greeks), on his right hand, surrounded by spirits who constantly celebrate the praise of Vishnu and Lakshmi, who are served by his votaries, and to whom the eagle (*garuda*) is door-keeper (Extract from the Mahabharata—See Ward on the *History and Religion of the Hindus*, vol. ii. p. 14).

² [Apollo Κάρνειος was probably 'the horned god,' connected with *képas*, 'a horn,' as a deity of herdsmen (Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iv. 131).]

with Baldeva (the god of strength), and Yudhishtira, after the great international war, into the Peloponnesus of Saurashtra, they were attacked by the aboriginal Bhils, one of whom slew the divine Karna with an arrow. The Bhils claim to be of Hayavansa, or the race of Haya, whose chief seat was at Maheswar on the Nerbudda: the assassin of Karna would consequently be Hayaputra, or descendant of Haya¹ [547].

The most celebrated of the monuments commonly termed Druidic, scattered throughout Europe, is at Carnac in Brittany, on which coast the Celtic Apollo had his shrines, and was propitiated under the title of Karneios, and this monument may be considered at once sacred to the manes of the warriors and the sun-god Karneios. Thus the Roman Saturnalia, the *carnivale*, has a better etymology in the festival to Karneios, as the sun, than in the 'adieu to flesh' during the fast. The character of this festival is entirely oriental, and accompanied with the licentiousness which belonged to the celebration of the powers of nature. Even now, although Christianity has banished the grosser forms, it partakes more of a Pagan than a Christian ceremony.

The Annakūta Festival.—Of the festivals of Krishna the Annakuta is the most remarkable; ² when the seven statues were brought from the different capitals of Rajasthan, and mountains (*kuta*) of food (*anna*) piled up for their repast, at a given signal are levelled by the myriads of votaries assembled from all parts. About eighty years ago, on a memorable assemblage at the Annakuta, before warfare had devastated Rajasthan, and circumscribed the means of the faithful disciples of Hari, amongst the multitude of Vaishnavas of every region were almost all the Rajput princes; Rana Arsi of Mewar, Raja Bijai Singh of Marwar, Raja Gaj Singh of Bikaner, and Bahadur Singh of Kishangarh. Rana Arsi presented to the god a *tora*, or massive golden anklet-chain set with emeralds: Bijai Singh a diamond necklace worth

¹ Supposing these coincidences in the fabulous history of the ancient nations of Greece and Asia to be merely fortuitous, they must excite interest; but conjoined with various others in the history of the Herikulas of India and the Heraclidae of Greece, I cannot resist the idea that they were connected [?].

² [The Annakūta festival, held on the first day of the light half of Kārttik (Oct.–Nov.). This was the old name of the hill which Krishna held aloft to protect his people (Growse, *op. cit.* 300).]

twenty-five thousand rupees : the other princes according to their means. They were followed by an old woman of Surat, with infirm step and shaking head, who deposited four coppers in the hand of the high-priest, which were received with a gracious smile, not vouchsafed to the lords of the earth. "The Rand is in luck," whispered the chief of Kishangarh to the Rana. Soon afterwards the statue of Hari was brought forth, when the same old woman placed at its feet a bill of exchange for seventy thousand rupees. The mighty were humbled, and the smile of the Gosain was explained. Such gifts, and to a yet greater amount, are, or were, by no means uncommon from the sons of commerce, who are only known to belong to the flock from the distinguishing necklace of the sect.¹

Interruption of Worship.—The predatory system which reduced these countries to a state of the most degraded anarchy, greatly diminished the number of pilgrimages to Nathdwara [548] ; and the gods of Vraj had sufficient prescience to know that they could guard neither their priests nor followers from the Pathan and Mahratta, to whom the crown of the god, or the *nathna* (nose-jewel) of Radha, would be alike acceptable : nor would they have scrupled to retain both the deities and priests as hostages for such imposition as they might deem within their means. Accordingly, of late years, there had been no congress of the gods of Vraj, who remained fixtures on their altars till the halcyon days of A.D. 1818 permitted their liberation.²

Seven Forms of Krishna.—The seven statues of Kanhaiya were brought together by the high-priest Balba, who established

¹ Gibbon records a similar offering of 200,000 sesterces to the Roman church, by a stranger, in the reign of Decius [ed. W. Smith, ii. 199].

² I enjoyed no small degree of favour with the supreme pontiff of the shrine of Apollo and all his votaries, for effecting a meeting of the seven statues of Vishnu in 1820. In contriving this I had not only to reconcile ancient animosities between the priests of the different shrines, in order to obtain a free passport for the gods, but to pledge myself to the princes in whose capitals they were established, for their safe return : for they dreaded lest bribery might entice the priests to fix them elsewhere, which would have involved their loss of sanctity, dignity, and prosperity. It cost me no little trouble, and still more anxiety, to keep the assembled multitudes at peace with each other, for they are as outrageous as any sectarians in contesting the supreme power and worth of their respective forms (*rupa*). Yet they all separated, not only without violence, but without even any attempt at robbery, so common on such occasions.

the festival of the Annakuta. They remained in the same sanctuary until the time of Girdhari, the grandson of Balba, who having seven sons, gave to each a rupa or statue, and whose descendants continue in the office of priest. The names and present abodes of the gods are as follows :

Nathji, the god, or Gordhannath, god of the mount
Nathdwara.

1. Nonita	Nathdwara.
2. Mathuranath	Kotah.
3. Dwarkanath	Kankroli. ¹
4. Gokulnath, or Gokulchandrama	Jaipur.
5. Yadunath	Surat.
6. Vitthalnath ²	Kotah.
7. Madan Mohana	Jaipur.

Nathji is not enumerated amongst the forms ; he stands supreme.

Nonita, or Nonanda, the juvenile Kanhaiya, has his altar separate, though close to Nathji. He is also styled Balamukund, 'the blessed child,'³ and is depicted as an infant with *pera*⁴ or comfit-ball in his hand. This image, which was one of the penates of a former age, and which, since the destruction of the shrines of [549] Krishna by the Islamites, had lain in the Yamuna, attached itself to the sacerdotal zone (Janco) of the high-priest Balba, while he was performing his ablutions, who, carrying it home, placed it in a niche of the temple and worshipped it : and Nonanda yet receives the peculiar homage of the high-priest and his family as their household divinity. Of the second image, Mathuranath, there is no particular mention : it was at one time at Khamnor in Mewar, but is now at Kotah.

Balkrishna, the third son, had Dwarkanath, which statue, now at Kankroli in Mewar, is asserted to be the identical image that

¹ [Kankroli, 36 miles N.E. of Udaipur city : the image is said to have been brought from Mathura A.D. 1669 (Erskine ii. A. 113).]

² [The form of Vishnu worshipped at Pāndharpur in Sholapur District. The name is probably a local corruption of Vishnupati, 'Lord Vishnu,' through the forms Bistu or Bittu (*IA*, iv. 361).]

³ [Said to mean 'the child, giver of liberation.']

⁴ The *pera* of Mathura can only be made from the waters of the Yamuna, from whence it is still conveyed to Nonanda at Nathdwara, and with curds forms his evening repast.

received the adoration of Raja Amaraka, a prince of the solar race who lived in the Satya Yuga, or silver age. The 'god of the mount' revealed himself in a dream to his high-priest, and told him of the domicile of this his representative at Kanauj. Thither Balba repaired, and having obtained it from the Brahman, appointed Damodardas Khatri to officiate at his altar.

The fourth statue, that of Gokulnath, or Gokul Chandrama (*i.e.* the *moon* of Gokul), had an equally mysterious origin, having been discovered in a deep ravine on the banks of the river; Balba assigned it to his brother-in-law. Gokul is an island on the Jumna,¹ a few miles below Mathura, and celebrated in the early history of the pastoral divinity. The residence of this image at Jaipur does not deprive the little island of its honours as a place of pilgrimage; for the 'god of Gokul' has an altar on the original site, and his rites are performed by an aged priestess, who disowns the jurisdiction of the high-priest of Nathdwara, both in the spiritual and temporal concerns of her shrine; and who, to the no small scandal of all who are interested in Apollo, appealed from the fiat of the high-priest to the British court of justice. The royal grants of the Mogul emperors were produced, which proved the right to lie in the high-priest, though a long period of almost undisturbed authority had created a feeling of independent control in the family of the priestess, which they desired might continue. A compromise ensued, when the Author was instrumental in restoring harmony to the shrines of Apollo.

The fifth, Yadunath, is the deified ancestor of the whole Yadu race. This image, now at Surat, formerly adorned the shrine of Mahaban near Mathura which was destroyed by Mahmud [550].

The sixth, Vitthalnath, or Pandurang,² was found in the Ganges at Benares, Samvat 1572 (A.D. 1516), from which we may judge of their habit of multiplying divinities.

The seventh, Madan Mohana, 'he who intoxicates with desire,' the seductive lover of Radha and the Gopis, has his rites performed by a female. The present priestess of Mohana is the mother of Damodara, the supreme head of all who adore the Apollo of Vraj.

¹ [Gokul is not an island, but a suburb of Mahāban in Mathura District.

² [Pāndurang is said to mean 'white-coloured'; but others believe it to be the Sanskritized form of Pandaraga, that is, 'belonging to Pandargē,' the old name of Pāndharpur (BG, xx. 423).]

The Pontiff of Nāthdwāra.—I am not aware of the precise period of Balba Acharya, who thus collected the seven images of Krishna now in Rajasthan; but he must have lived about the time of the last of the Lodi kings, at the period of the conquest of India by the Moguls (A.D. 1526). The present pontiff, Damodara, as before said, is his lineal descendant; and whether in addressing him verbally or by letter he is styled Maharaja or 'great prince.'¹

As the supreme head of the Vishnu sect his person is held to be Ansa, or 'a portion of the divinity'; and it is maintained that so late as the father of the present incumbent, the god manifested himself and conversed with the high-priest. The present pontiff is now about thirty years of age. He is of a benign aspect, with much dignity of demeanour: courteous, yet exacting the homage due to his high calling: meek, as becomes the priest of Govinda, but with the finished manners of one accustomed to the first society. His features are finely moulded, and his complexion good. He is about the middle size, though as he rises to no mortal, I could not exactly judge of his height. When I saw him he had one only daughter, to whom he is much attached. He has but one wife, nor does Krishna allow polygamy to his priest. In times of danger, like some of his prototypes in the dark ages of Europe, he poised the lance, and found it more effective than spiritual anathemas, against those who would first adore the god, and then plunder him. Such were the Mahratta chiefs, Jaswant Rao Holkar and Bapu Sindhia. Damodara accordingly made the [551] tour of his extensive diocese at the head of four hundred horse, two standards of foot, and two field-pieces. He rode the finest mares in the country; laid aside his

¹ Gosain is a title more applicable to the *célibataire* worshippers of Hara than of Hari—of Jupiter than of Apollo. It is alleged that the Emperor Akbar first bestowed this epithet on the high-priest of Krishna, whose rites attracted his regard. They were previously called Dikshit, 'one who performs sacrifice,' a name given to a very numerous class of Brahmans. The *Gotrācharya*, or genealogical creed of the high-priest, is as follows: "*Tailang Brahman, Bharadwaja gotra,* Gurukula,† Taittiri sakha*; i.e. Brahman of Telingana, of the tribe of Bharadwaja, of the race of Guru, of the branch Taittiri."

* Bhāradwaja was a celebrated founder of a sect in the early ages.

† Guru is an epithet applied to Vrishapati, 'Lord of the bull,' the Indian Jupiter, who is called the Guru, preceptor or guardian of the gods. [Brihaspati, 'Lord of prayer,' the regent of the planet Jupiter, is confused with Vrishapati, 'Lord of the bull,' an epithet of Siva.]

pontificals for the quilted *dagla*, and was summoned to matins by the kettle-drum instead of the bell and cymbal. In this he only imitated Kanhaiya, who often mixed in the ranks of battle, and “dyed his saffron robe in the red-stained field.” Had Damodara been captured on one of these occasions by any marauding Pathan, and incarcerated, as he assuredly would have been, for ransom, the marauder might have replied to the Rana, as did the Plantagenet king to the Pope, when the surrender of the captive church-militant bishop was demanded, “Is this thy son Joseph’s coat?” But, notwithstanding this display of martial principle, which covered with a helmet the shaven crown, his conduct and character are amiable and unexceptionable, and he furnishes a striking contrast to the late head of the Vishnu establishments in Marwar, who commenced with the care of his master’s conscience, and ended with that of the State; meek and unassuming till he added temporal¹ to spiritual power, which developed unlimited pride, with all the qualities that too often wait on “a little brief authority,” and to the display of which he fell a victim. Damodara,² similarly circumstanced, might have evinced the same failings, and have met the same end; but though endeavours were made to give him political influence at the Rana’s court, yet, partly from his own good sense, and partly through the dissuasion of the Nestor of Kotah (Zalim Singh), he was not entrained in the vortex of its intrigues, which must have involved the sacrifice of wealth and the proper dignity of his station [552].

¹ The high-priest of Jalandharnath used to appear at the head of a cavalcade far more numerous than any feudal lord of Marwar. A sketch of this personage will appear elsewhere. These Brahmans were not a jot behind the ecclesiastical lords of the Middle Ages, who are thus characterized: “Les seigneurs ecclésiastiques, malgré l’humilité chrétienne, ne se sont pas montrés moins orgueilleux que les nobles laïcs. Le doyen du chapitre de Notre Dame du Port, à Clermont, pour montrer sa grande noblesse, officiait avec toute la pompe féodale. Étant à l’autel, il avait l’oiseau sur la perche gauche, et on portait devant lui la hallebarde; on la lui portait aussi de la même manière pendant qu’on chantait l’évangile, et aux processions il avait lui-même l’oiseau sur le poing, et il marchait à la tête de ses serviteurs, menant ses chiens de chasse” (*Dict. de l’Anc. Régime*, p. 380).

² The first letter I received on reaching England after my long residence in India was from this priest, filled with anxious expressions for my health, and speedy return to protect the lands and sacred kine of Apollo.

APPENDIX

No. I

Grant of the Rathor Rani, the Queen-Mother of Udaipur, on the death of her Son, the Heir-Apparent, Prince Amra.

Siddh Sri Bari¹ Rathorji to the Patels and inhabitants of Girwa.² The four bighas of land, belonging to the Jat Roga, have been assigned to the Brahman Kishna on the Anta Samya (final epoch) of Lalji.³ Let him possess the rents thereof.⁴ The dues for wood and forage (*khar lakar*) contributions (*barar*) are renounced by the State in favour of the Brahmans.

Samvat 1875, Amavas 15th of Asoj, A.D. 1819.

No. II

Grant held by a Brahman of Birkhera.

"A Brahman's orphan was compelled by hunger to seek sustenance in driving an oil-mill; instead of oil the receptacle was filled with blood. The frightened oilman demanded of the child who he was; 'A Brahman's orphan,' was the reply. Alarmed at the enormity of his guilt in thus employing the son of a priest, he covered the palm of his hand with earth, in which he sowed the tulasi seed,⁵ and went on a pilgrimage to Dwarka.

¹ The great Rathor queen. There were two of this tribe; she was the queen-mother.

² [The tract in the centre of the State, including Udaipur city.]

³ An endearing epithet, applied to children, from *larla*, beloved.

⁴ It is customary to call these grants to religious orders 'grants of land,' although they entitle only the rents thereof; for there is no seizin of the land itself, as numerous inscriptions testify, and which, as well as the present, prove the proprietary right to be in the cultivator only. The *tamba-pattra*,* or copper-plate patent (by which such grants are probably designated) of Yasodharman,† the Pramara prince of Ujjain, seven hundred years ago, is good evidence that the rents only are granted; he commands the crown tenants of the two villages assigned to the temple "to pay all dues as they arise—money-rent—first share of produce," not a word of seizing of the soil. See *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 223.

⁵ [The sacred basil plant, *Ocimum sanctum*.]

* To distinguish them from grants of land to feudal tenants, which patents (*patla*) are manuscript.

† [He defeated Mihiragula, leader of the White Huns, about A.D. 528 (Smith, *EHI*, 318).]

He demanded the presence (*darsana*) of the god; the priests pointed to the ocean, when he plunged in, and had an interview with Dwarkanath, who presented him with a written order on the Rana for forty-five bighas of land. He returned and threw the writing before the Rana, on the steps of the temple of Jagan-nath. The Rana read the writing of the god, placed it on his head, and immediately made out the grant. This is three hundred and fifty years ago, as recorded by an inscription on stone, and his descendant, Kosala, yet enjoys it."

(A true Translation.)

J. Tod.

No. III

The Palod inscription is unfortunately mislaid; but in searching for it, another was discovered from Aner, four miles south-west of the ancient Morwan, where there is a temple to the four-armed divinity (Chaturbhuja), endowed in Samvat 1570, by Rana Jagat Singh [553]. On one of the pillars of the temple is inscribed a voluntary gift made in Samvat 1845, and signed by the village Panch, of the first-fruits of the harvest, namely, two sers and a half (five pounds weight) from each *khal*¹ of the spring, and the same of the autumnal harvests.

No. IV

Sri Amra Sing (II.) etc., etc.

Whereas the shrine of Sri Pratap-Iswara (the God of Fortune) has been erected in the meadows of Rasmi, all the groves and trees are sacred to him; whoever cuts down any of them is an offender to the State, and shall pay a fine of three hundred rupees, and the *ass*² shall be the portion of the officers of government who suffer it.

Pus. 14, Samvat 1712 (A.D. 1656).

No. V

Maharana Sri Raj Singh, commanding.

To the Nobles, Ministers, Patels,³ Patwaris,³ of the ten thousand [villages] of Mewar (*das sahas Mewar-ra*), according to your stations—read!

1. From remote times, the temples and dwellings of the Jains

¹ A *khal* is one of the heaps after the corn is thrashed out, about *five maunds* [400 lbs.].

² The *gadha-ghal* is a punishment unknown in any but the Hindu code; the hieroglyphic import appears on the pillar, and must be seen to be understood.

³ Revenue officers.

have been authorized; let none therefore within their boundaries carry animals to slaughter—this is their ancient privilege.

2. Whatever life, whether man or animal, passes their abode for the purpose of being killed, is saved (*amara*).¹

3. Traitors to the State, robbers, felons escaped confinement, who may fly for sanctuary (*saran*) to the dwellings (*upasra*)² of the Yatis,³ shall not there be seized by the servants of the court.

4. The *kunchi*⁴ (handful) at harvest, the *mutthi* (handful) of *kirana*, the charity lands (*dholi*), grounds, and houses, established by them in the various towns, shall be maintained.

5. This ordinance is issued in consequence of the representation of the Rikh⁵ Mana, to whom is granted fifteen bighas of *adhan*⁶ land, and twenty-five of *maleti*.⁶ The same quantity of each kind in each of the districts of Nimach and Nimbahera.—Total in three districts, forty-five bighas of *adhan*, and seventy-five of *mal*⁷ (554).

On seeing this ordinance, let the land be measured and assigned, and let none molest the Yatis, but foster their privileges. Cursed be he who infringes them—the cow to the Hindu—the hog and corpse to the Musalman.

(By command.)

Samvat 1749, Magh sudi 5th, A.D. 1693. SAH DYAL (Minister).

No. VI

Maharaja Chhattar Singh (one of the Rana's sons), commanding.

In the town of Rasmi, whoever slays sheep, buffaloes, goats, or other living thing, is a criminal to the State; his house, cattle, and effects shall be forfeited, and himself expelled the village.

(By command.)

Pus Sudi 14, Samvat 1705, A.D. 1649.

The Pancholi DAMAKA DAS.

¹ Literally 'immortal,' from *mara*, 'death,' and the privative prefix.

² Schools or colleges of the Yatis.

³ Priests of the Jains.

⁴ *Kunchi* and *mutthi* are both a 'handful'; the first is applied to grain in the stalk at harvest time; the other to such edibles in merchandise as sugar, raisins, etc., collectively termed *kirana*.

⁵ *Rikh*[*rishi*] is an ancient title applied to the highest class of priests; *Rikh-Rikhsha-Rikhiswara*, applied to royalty in old times.

⁶ *Adhan* is the richest land, lying under the protection of the town walls; *mal* or *maleti* land is land not irrigated from wells.

⁷ In all a hundred and twenty bighas, or about forty acres.

No. VII

Maharana Jai Singh to the inhabitants of Bákrol ; printers, potters, oilmen, etc., etc., commanding.

From the 11th Asarh (June) to the full moon of Asoj (September), none shall drain the waters of the lake ; no oil-mill shall work, or earthen vessel be made, during these the four rainy months.¹

No. VIII

Maharana, Sri Jagat Singh II., commanding.

The village of Siarh in the hills, of one thousand rupees yearly rent, having been chosen by Nathji (*the god*) for his residence, and given up by Rana Raghude,² I have confirmed it. The Gosain³ and his heirs shall enjoy it for ever.

Samvat 1793, A.D. 1737.

No. IX

Siddh Sri Maharaja Dhiraj, Maharana Sri Bhim Singhji, commanding.

The undermentioned towns and villages were presented to Sriji⁴ by copper-plate. The revenues (*hasil*)⁵ contributions (*barar*), taxes, dues (*lagat-be-lagat*), trees, shrubs, foundations and boundaries (*nim-sim*), shall all belong to Sriji. If of my seed, none will ever dispute this [555].

The ancient copper-plate being lost, I have thus renewed it.

¹ [For the annual Jain retreat see p. 606, above.]

² The chief of Delwara.

³ There are other grants later than this, which prove that all grants were renewed in every new reign. This grant also proves that no chief has the power to alienate without his sovereign's sanction.

⁴ Epithet indicative of the greatness of the deity.

⁵ Here is another proof that the sovereign can only alienate the revenues (*hasil*) ; and though everything upon and about the grant, yet *not the soil*. The *nim-sim* is almost as powerful an expression as the old grant to the Rawdons—

“ From earth to heaven,
From heaven to hell,
For thee and thine
Therein to dwell.”

Here follows a list of thirty-four entire towns and villages, many from the fisc, or confirmations of the grants of the chiefs, besides various parcels of arable land, from twenty to one hundred and fifty bighas, in forty-six more villages, from chiefs of every class, and patches of meadowland (*bira*) in twenty more.

No. X

Sri Maharana Bhima Singhji, commanding.

To the towns of Srijji, or to the [personal] lands of the Gosainji,¹ no molestation shall be offered. No warrants or exactions shall be issued or levied upon them. All complaints, suits, or matters, in which justice is required, originating in Nathdwara, shall be settled there; none shall interfere therein, and the decisions of the Gosainji I shall invariably confirm. The town and transit duties² (of Nathdwara and villages pertaining thereto), the assay (*parkhai*)² fees from the public markets, duties on precious metals (*kasoti*),² all brokerage (*dalali*), and dues collected at the four gates; all contributions and taxes of whatever kind, are presented as an offering to Srijji; let the income thereof be placed in Srijji's coffers.

All the products of foreign countries imported by the Vaishnavas,³ whether domestic or foreign, and intended for consumption at Nathdwara,⁴ shall be exempt from duties. The right of sanctuary (*saran*) of Srijji, both in the town and in all his other villages,⁵ will be maintained: the Almighty will take cognisance of any innovation. Wherefore, let all chiefs, farmers of duties, beware of molesting the goods of Nathji (*the god*), and wherever such may halt, let guards be provided for their security, and let each chief convey them through his bounds in safety. If of my blood, or if my servants, this warrant will be obeyed for ever and for ever. Whoever resumes this grant will be a caterpillar in hell during 60,000 years.

¹ The high-priest.

² All these are royalties, and the Rana was much blamed, even by his Vaishnava ministers, for sacrificing them even to Kanhaiya.

³ Followers of Vishnu, Krishna, or Kanhaiya, chiefly mercantile.

⁴ Many⁵ merchants, by the connivance of the conductors of the caravans of Nathji's goods, contrived to smuggle their goods to Nathdwara, and to the disgrace of the high-priest or his underlings, this traffic was sold for their personal advantage. It was a delicate thing to search these caravans, or to prevent the loss to the State from the evasion of the duties. The Rana durst not interfere lest he might incur the penalty of his own anathemas. The Author's influence with the high-priest put a stop to this.

⁵ This extent of sanctuary is an innovation of the present Rana's, with many others equally unwise.

By command—through the chief butler (*Paneri*) Eklingdas : written by Surat Singh, son of Nathji Pancholi, Magh sudi 1st, Samvat 1865 ; A.D. 1809.

No. XI

Personal grant to the high-priest, Damodarji Maharaj.

Swasti Sri, from the abode at Udaipur, Maharana Sri Bhim Singhji, commanding [556].

To all the chieftains, landholders, managers of the crown and *deorhi*¹ lands, to all Patels, etc., etc., etc. As an offering to the Sri Gosainji two rupees have been granted in every village throughout Mewar, one in each harvest—let no opposition be made thereto. If of my kin or issue, none will revoke this—the *an* (oath of allegiance) be upon his head. By command, through Parihara Mayaram, Samvat 1860, Jeth sudi 5th Mangalwar ; A.D. 1804.

At one side of the patent, in the Rana's own hand, "An offering to Sri Girdhariji² Maharaj—If of my issue none will disobey—who dares, may the Almighty punish !"

No. XII

Maharana Bhim Singh, commanding.

To the Mandir (*minster*) of Sri Murali Manohar (*flute delighting*), situated on the dam of the lake at Mandalgarh, the following grant has been made, with all the dues, income, and privileges, viz. :

1. The hamlet called Kotwalkhera, with all thereto appertaining.

2. Three rupees' worth of saffron monthly from the transit duty *chabutra*.³

3. From the police-office of Mandalgarh :

Three tunics (*baga*) for the idol on each festival, viz. Ashtami, Jaljatra, and Vasant Panchami.⁴

Five rupees' worth of oil⁵ on the Jaljatra, and two and a half in the full moon of Karttik [Oct.–Nov.].

¹ Lands for the queens or others of the immediate household.

² Father of the present high-priest, Damodarji.

³ [Office, properly 'a platform.']

⁴ [Festivals of Krishna's birthday, the water festival, the spring festival.]

⁵ Amongst the items of the Chartulary of Dunfermline is the tithe of the oil of the Greenland whale fisheries.

4. Both gardens under the dam of the lake, with all the fruits and flowers thereof.

5. The *Inch*¹ on all the vegetables appertaining to the prince.

6. *Kunchi* and *dalali*, or the handful at harvest, and all brokerage.

7. The income arising from the sale of the estates is to be applied to the repairs of the temple and dam.

Margsir [Nov.-Dec.] Sudi 1, Samvat 1866 ; A.D. 1810 [557].

CHAPTER 21

The Importance of Mythology.—It has been observed by that philosophical traveller, Dr. Clarke, that, “by a proper attention to the vestiges of ancient superstition, we are sometimes enabled to refer a whole people to their original ancestors, with as much, if not more certainty, than by observations made upon their language ; because the superstition is engrafted upon the stock, but the language is liable to change.”² Impressed with the justness, as well as the originality of the remark, I shall adopt it as my guide in the observations I propose to make on the religious festivals and superstitions of Mewar. However important may be the study of military, civil, and political history, the science is incomplete without mythological history ; and he is little imbued with the spirit of philosophy who can perceive in the fables of antiquity nothing but the extravagance of a fervid imagination. Did no other consequence result from the study of mythology than the fact that, in all ages and countries, man has desecrated his reason, and voluntarily reduced himself below the level of the brutes that perish, it must provoke inquiry into the cause of this degradation. Such an investigation would develop, not only the source of history, the handmaid of the arts and sciences, but the origin and application of the latter, in a theology typical of the seasons, their changes, and products. Thus mythology may be considered the parent of all history.

The Aboriginal Tribes.—With regard, however, to the rude tribes who still inhabit the mountains and fastnesses of India,

¹ A handful of every basket of vegetables sold in the public markets.

² *Travels in Scandinavia*, vol. i. p. 33.

and who may be regarded as the aborigines of that country, the converse of this doctrine is more probable. Not their language only, but [558] their superstitions, differ from those of the Rajputs: though, from a desire to rise above their natural condition, they have engrafted upon their own the most popular mythologies of their civilized conquerors, who from the north gradually spread themselves over the continent and peninsula, even to the remote isles of the Indian Ocean. Of the primitive inhabitants we may enumerate the Minas, the Meras, the Gonds, the Bhils, the Sahariyas, the Savaras, the Abhiras, the Gujars, and those who inhabit the forests of the Nerbudda, the Son, the Mahanadi, the mountains of Sarguja, and the lesser Nagpur; many of whom are still but little removed from savage life, and whose dialects are as various as their manners. These are content to be called the 'sons of the earth,'¹ or 'children of the forest,'² while their conquerors, the Rajputs, arrogate celestial descent.³ How soon after the flood the Suryas, or sun-worshippers, entered India Proper, must ever remain uncertain.⁴ It is sufficient that they were anterior in date to the Indus, or races tracing their descent from the moon (*Ind*); as the migration of the latter from the central lands of Indo-Scythia was antecedent to that of the Agnikulas, or fire-worshippers, of the Snake race, claiming Takshak as their original progenitor. The Suryas,⁵ who migrated both to the East and West, as population became redundant in these fertile regions, may be considered the Celtic, as the Indu-Getae may be accounted the Gothic, races of India.⁶ To attempt to discriminate these different races, and mark the shades which once separated them, after a system of priestcraft has amalgamated the mass, and identified their superstitions, would be

¹ *Bhumiputra*.

² *Vanaputra*.

³ Suryas and Induputras.

⁴ [For the Vedic cult of Sūrya see Macdonell, "Vedic Mythology," *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, 1897, p. 30 ff.]

⁵ The Sauromatae or Sarmatians of early Europe, as well as the Syrians, were most probably colonies of the same Suryavansi who simultaneously peopled the shores of the Caspian and Mediterranean, and the banks of the Indus and Ganges. Many of the tribes described by Strabo as dwelling around the Caspian are enumerated amongst the thirty-six royal races of India. One of these, the Sakasenae, supposed to be the ancestors of our own Saxon race, settled themselves on the Araxes in Armenia, adjoining Albania. [There are no grounds for these comparisons.]

⁶ [There are no grounds for this classification.]

fruitless; but the observer of ancient customs may, with the imperfect guidance of peculiar rites, discover things, and even names, totally incongruous with the Brahmanical system, and which could never have originated within the Indus or Atak,—the Rubicon of Gangetic antiquaries, who fear to look beyond that stream for the origin of tribes. A residence amongst the Rajputs would lead to a disregard of such boundaries, either to the moral or physical man, as the annals of Mewar abundantly testify.

Comparative Study of Festivals.—Sir Wm. Jones remarks, “If the festivals of the old Greeks, Persians, Romans [559], Egyptians, and Goths could be arranged with exactness in the same form with the Indian, there would be found a striking resemblance among them; and an attentive comparison of them all might throw great light on the religion, and perhaps on the history, of the primitive world.”

Analogies to Rājput Customs in Northern Europe.—In treating of the festivals and superstitions of the Rajputs, wherever there may appear to be a fair ground for supposing an analogy with those of other nations of antiquity, I shall not hesitate to pursue it. The proper names of many of the martial Rajputs would alone point out the necessity of seeking for a solution of them out of the explored paths; and where Sanskrit derivation cannot be assigned, as it happens in many instances, we are not, therefore, warranted in the hasty conclusion that the names must have been adopted since the conquests of Mahmud or Shihabu-d-din, events of comparatively modern date. Let us at once admit the hypothesis of Pinkerton,—the establishment of an original Indu-Getic or Indo-Scythic empire, “extending from the Caspian to the Ganges”; or if this conjecture be too extensive or too vague, let us fix the centre of this Madhya-Bhumi in the fertile region of Sogdiana;¹ and from the lights which modern history affords on the many migrations from this nursery of mankind,

¹ Long after the overthrow of the Greek kingdom of Bactria by the Yuti or Getes [Sakas] this region was popular and flourishing. In the year 120 before Christ, De Guignes says: “Dans ce pays on trouvait d'excellens grains, du vin de vigne, plus de cent villes, tant grandes que petites. Il est aussi fait mention du Tchia situé au midi du Gihon, et où il y a de grandes villes murées. Le général chinois y vit des toiles de l'Inde et autres marchandises, etc., etc.” (*Hist. Gén. des Huns*, vol. i. p. 51).

even since the time of Muhammad, let us form an opinion of those which have not been recorded, or have been conveyed by the Hindus only in imperfect allegory ; and with the aid of ancient customs, obsolete words, and proper names, trace them to Indo-Scythic colonies grafted on the parent stock. The Puranas themselves bear testimony to the incorporation of Scythic tribes with the Hindus, and to the continual irruptions of the Saka, the Pahlavas, the Yavanas,¹ the Turushkas, names conspicuous amongst the races of Central Asia, and recorded in the pages of the earliest Western historians. Even so early as the period of Rama, when furious international wars were carried on between the military and sacerdotal classes for supremacy, we have the names of these tribes recorded as auxiliaries [560] to the priesthood ; who, while admitting them to fight under the banners of Siva, would not scruple to stamp them with the seal of Hinduism. In this manner, beyond a doubt, at a much later period than the events in the Ramayana, these tribes from the North either forced themselves among, or were incorporated with, ' the races of the sun.' When, therefore, we meet with rites in Rajputana and in ancient Scandinavia, such as were practised amongst the Getic nations on the Oxus, why should we hesitate to assign the origin of both to this region of earliest civilization ? When we see the ancient Asii, and the Iutae, or Jutes, taking omens from the white steed of Thor, shut up in the temple at Upsala ; and in like manner, the Rajput of past days offering the same animal in sacrifice to the sun, and his modern descendant taking the omen from his neigh, why are we to refuse our assent to the common origin of the superstition practised by the Getae of the Oxus ? Again, when we find the ' homage to the sword ' performed by all the Getic races of antiquity in Dacia, on the Baltic, as well as by the modern Rajput, shall we draw no conclusion from this testimony of the father of history, who declares that such rites

¹ Yavan or Javan is a celebrated link of the Indu (*lunar*) genealogical chain ; nor need we go to Ionia for it, though the Ionians may be a colony descended from Javan, the ninth from Yayati, who was the third son of Ayu, the ancestor of the Hindu as well as of the Tatar Induyansi. [Yavana is the general term for a foreigner, especially the non-Hindu tribes of the N.W. Frontier, and those beyond them.] The Asuras, who are so often described as invaders of India, and which word has ordinarily a mere irreligious acceptation, I firmly believe to mean the Assyrians. [This theory was adopted by J. Fergusson, *Cave Temples of India*, 34.]

were practised on the Jaxartes in the very dawn of knowledge ? ¹ Moreover, why hesitate to give Eastern etymologies for Eastern rites, though found on the Baltic ? The antiquary of the North (Mallet) may thus be assisted to the etymon of 'Tir-sing,' the enchanted sword of Angantýr, in *tir*, 'water,' and *singh*, 'a lion'; i.e. in water or spirit like a lion; for even *pani*, the common epithet for water, is applied metaphorically to 'spirit.' ²

It would be less difficult to find Sanskrit derivations for many of the proper names in the Edda, than to give a Sanskrit analysis of many common amongst the Rajputs, which we must trace to an Indo-Scythic root : ³ such as Eyvorsél, Udila, Attitai, Pujun, Hamira, ⁴ and numerous other proper names of warriors. Of tribes : the Kathi, Rajpali, Mohila, Sariaspah, Aswaria (*qu.* Assyrian ?), Banaphar, Kamari. Silara, Dahima, etc. Of mountains : Drinodhar, Arbuda, Aravalli, Aravindha (the root *ara*, or mountain, being Scythic, and the expletive adjunct Sanskrit), 'the hill of Budha,' 'of strength,' 'of limit.' To all such as cannot be [561] resolved into the cognate language of India, what origin can we assign but Scythic ? ⁵

Festivals in Mewār. Naurātri Festival.—In a memoir prepared for me by a well-informed public officer in the Rana's court, on the chief festivals celebrated in Mewar, he commenced with those following the autumnal equinox, in the month Asoj or Aswini,

¹ [Such analogies of custom do not prove ethnical identity.]

² [The theory breaks down, because the name of the sword of Argantýr was Tyr-sing, or better Tyr-singr, the derivation of which word, as Mr. H. M. Chadwick kindly informs me, according to Vigfússon's *Icelandic Dictionary*, is from *tyrfi*, a resinous fir-tree used for kindling a fire, because the sword flamed like resinous wood.]

³ See Turner's *History of Anglo-Saxons* for Indo-Scythic words.

⁴ There were no less than four distinguished leaders of this name amongst the vassals of the last Rajput emperor of Delhi; and one of them, who turned traitor to his sovereign and joined Shihabu-d-din, was actually a Scythian, and of the Gakkhar race, which maintained their ancient habits of polyandry even in Babur's time. The Haoli Rao Hamira was lord of Kangra and the Gakkhars of Pamir.

⁵ Turner, when discussing the history of the Sakai, or Sakaseni, of the Caspian, whom he justly supposes to be the Saxons of the Baltic, takes occasion to introduce some words of Scythic origin (preserved by ancient writers), to almost every one of which, without straining etymology, we may give a Sanskrit origin. [There is no ground for ascribing a Scythic origin to the proper names in the text.]

opening with the Nauratri, sacred to the god of war. Their fasts are in general regulated by the moon ; although the most remarkable are solar, especially those of the equinoxes and solstices, and the Sankrantis, or days on which the sun enters a new sign. The Hindu solar year anciently commenced on the winter solstice, in the month Pausha, and was emphatically called ' the morning of the gods ' ; also Sivaratri, or night of Siva, analogous, as has been before remarked, to the ' mother night,' which ushered in the new year of the Scandinavian Asi, and other nations of Asiatic origin dwelling in the north.

The Repose of Vishnu.—They term the summer solstice in the month of Asarh, ' the night of the gods,' because Vishnu (as the sun) reposes during the four rainy months on his serpent couch. The lunar year of 360 days was more ancient than the solar, and

	Scythic.		Sanskrit or Bhakha.
Exampaïos	. sacred ways		<i>Agham</i> is the sacred book ; <i>pai</i> and <i>pada</i> , a foot ; <i>pantha</i> , a path.
Arimu	. one		<i>Ad</i> is the first ; whence <i>Adima</i> , or man.
Spou	. an eye.		
Oïor	. a man.		
Pata	. to kill		<i>Badh</i> , to kill.
Tahiti	. the chief deity is Vesta		<i>Tap</i> is heat or flame ; the type of Vesta.
Papaïos	. " " Jupiter		<i>Baba</i> , or <i>Bapa</i> , the universal father. The Hindu <i>Jiva-</i> <i>pitri</i> , or <i>Father</i> of Life [?].
Oïtosuros	. " " Apollo		<i>Aitiswara</i> , or Sun-God, appli- cable to Vishnu, who has every attribute of Apollo ; from <i>ait</i> , contraction of <i>aditya</i> , the sun.
Artimpasa, or Aripasa	. " " Venus		<i>Apsaras</i> because born from the froth or essence, ' <i>sara</i> ,' of the waters, ' <i>ap</i> ' ['going in the water'].
Thamimasadus	. " " Neptune		<i>Thoenatha</i> ; or <i>God of the</i> <i>Waters</i> .
Apia	. wife of Papaïos, or Earth		<i>Amba</i> , <i>Ama</i> , <i>Uma</i> , is the <i>universal mother</i> ; wife of ' <i>Baba Adam</i> ,' as they term the universal father.

See Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, vol. i. p. 35. [Many of the identifications are obsolete.]

commenced with the month of Asoj or Aswini: "the moon being at the full when that name was imposed on the first lunar station of the Hindu ecliptic."¹

According to another authority, the festivals commenced on Amavas, or the Ides of Chait, near which the vernal equinox falls, the opening of the modern solar year; when, in like manner as at the commencement of the lunar year in Asoj, they [562] dedicate the first nine days of Chait (also called Nauratri) to Iswara and his consort Isani.

Having thus specified both modes of reckoning for the opening of the solar and lunar years, I shall not commence the abstract of the festivals of Mewar with either, but follow the more ancient division of time, when the year closed with the winter solstice in the month of Pus, consequently opening the new year with Magh. By this arrangement, we shall commence with the spring festivals, and let the days dedicated to mirth and gaiety follow each other; preferring the natural to the astrological year, which will enable us to preserve the analogy with the northern nations of Europe, who also reckoned from the winter solstice. The Hindu divides the year into six seasons, each of two months; namely, Vasanta, Grishma, Varsha, Sarad, Sisira, Sita; or spring, summer, rainy, sultry, dewy, and cold.

It is not, however, my intention to detail all the fasts and festivals which the Rajput of Mewar holds in common with the Hindu nation, but chiefly those restricted to that State, or such as are celebrated with local peculiarity, or striking analogies to those of Egypt, Greece, or Scandinavia. The goddess who presides over mirth and idleness preferred holding her court amidst the ruins of Udaipur to searching elsewhere for a dwelling. This determination to be happy amidst calamity, individual and national, has made the court proverbial in Rajwara, in the adage, '*sat bara, aur nau teohara*,' i.e. nine holidays out of seven days. Although many of these festivals are common to India, and their maintenance is enjoined by religion, yet not only the prolongation and repetition of some, but the entire institution of others, as well as the peculiar splendour of their solemnization, originate with the prince; proving how much individual example may influence the manners of a nation.

¹ Sir W. Jones, "On the Lunar Year of the Hindus," *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 257.

Spring Festival, Vasant Panchami.—By the arrangement we have adopted, the lovely Vasanti, goddess of the spring, will usher in the festivals of Mewar. In 1819 her rites were celebrated in the kalends of January, and even then, on the verge of the tropic, her birth was premature.

The opening of the spring being on the 5th of the month Magha, is thence called the Vasant panchami, which in 1819 fell on the 30th of January; consequently the first of Pus (the antecedent month), the beginning of the old Hindu [563] year, or 'the morning of the gods,' fell on the 25th of December. The Vasant continues forty days after the panchami, or initiative fifth, during which the utmost license prevails in action and in speech; the lower classes regale even to intoxication on every kind of stimulating confection and spirituous beverage, and the most respectable individuals, who would at other times be shocked to utter an indelicate allusion, roam about with the groups of bacchanals, reciting stanzas of the warmest description in praise of the powers of nature, as did the conscript fathers of Rome during the Saturnalia. In this season, when the barriers of rank are thrown down, and the spirit of democracy is let loose, though never abused, even the wild Bhil, or savage Mer, will leave his forest or mountain shade to mingle in the revelries of the capital; and decorating his ebon hair or tattered turban with a garland of jessamine, will join the clamorous parties which perambulate the streets of the capital. These orgies are, however, reserved for the conclusion of the forty days sacred to the goddess of nature.

Bhān Saptami Festival.—Two days following the initiative fifth is the Bhan saptami or 'seventh [day] of the sun,' also called 'the birth of the sun,' with various other metaphorical denominations.¹ On this day there is a grand procession of the Rana, his chiefs and vassals, to the Chaugan, where the sun is worshipped. At the Jaipur court, whose princes claim descent from Kusa, the second son of Rama, the Bhan saptami is peculiarly sacred. The chariot of the sun, drawn by eight horses, is taken from the temple dedicated to that orb, and moved in procession: a ceremony otherwise never observed but on the inauguration of a new prince.

¹ Bhaskara saptami, in honour of the sun, as a form of Vishnu (Varaha Purana) Makari, from the sun entering the constellation *Makara* (Pisces), the first of the solar Magha (see *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 273).

Sun Worship.—In the mythology of the Rajputs, of which we have a better idea from their heroic poetry than from the legends of the Brahmans, the sun-god is the deity they are most anxious to propitiate; and in his honour they fearlessly expend their blood in battle, from the hope of being received into his mansion. Their highest heaven is accordingly the Bhanuthan or Bhanuloka, the 'region of the sun': and like the Indu-Scythic Getae, the Rajput warrior of the early ages sacrificed the horse in his honour,¹ and dedicated to him the first day of the week, namely, Adityawar, contracted to Itwar, also called Thawara² [564].

The more we attend to the warlike mythology of the north, the more apparent is its analogy with that of the Rajputs, and the stronger ground is there for assuming that both races inherited their creed from the common land of the Yuti of the Jaxartes. What is a more proper etymon for Scandinavian, the abode of the warriors who destroyed the Roman power, than Skanda, the Mars or Kumara of the Rajputs? perhaps the origin of the Cimbri, derived by Mallet from koempfer, 'to fight.'

Thor, in the eleventh fable of the Edda, is denominated Asa-Thor,³ the 'lord Thor,' called the Celtic Mars by the Romans. The chariot of Thor is ignobly yoked compared with the car of Surya; but in the substitution of the he-goats for the seven-headed horse Saptasva we have but the change of an adjunct depending on clime, when the Yuti migrated from the plains of Scythia, of which the horse is a native, to Yutland, of whose mountains the goat was an inhabitant prior to any of the race of Asi. The northern warrior makes the palace of the sun-god Thor the most splendid of the celestial abodes, "in which are

¹ See Vol. I. p. 91.

² This word appears to have the same import as Thor, the sun-god and war divinity of the Scandinavians. [*Thāwar*, Saturday; Skt. *sthāvara*, 'stationary.']

³ Odin is also called *As* or 'lord'; the Gauls also called him *Oes* or *Es*, and with a Latin termination *Hesus*, whom Lucan calls *Esus*; Edda, vol. ii. pp. 45-6. The celebrated translator of these invaluable remnants of ancient superstitions, by which alone light can be thrown on the origin of nations, observes that *Es* or *Oes* is the name for God with all the Celtic races. So it was with the Tuscans, doubtless from the Sanskrit, or rather from a more provincial tongue, the common contraction of *Iswara*, the Egyptian *Osiris*, the Persian *Syr*, the sun-god. [These words have, of course, no connexion. Syria perhaps derives its name from the Suri, a north-Euphratian tribe (*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, iv. 4845).]

five hundred and forty halls": vying with the Suryamandala, the supreme heaven of the Rajput. Whence such notions of the Aswa races of the Ganges, and the Asi of Scandinavia, but from the Scythic Saka, who adored the solar divinity under the name of 'Gaeto-Syrus,'¹ the Surya of the Sachha Rajput; and as, according to the commentator on the Edda, "the ancient people of the north pronounced the *th* as the English now do *ss*," the sun-god *Thor* becomes *Sor*, and is identified still more with Surya whose worship no doubt gave the name to that extensive portion of Asia called *Συρία*, as it did to the small peninsula of the Sauras, still peopled by tribes of Scythic origin. The Sol of the Romans has probably the same Celto-Etrurian origin; with those tribes the sun was the great object of adoration, and their grand festival, the winter solstice, was called Yule, Hiul, Houl, "which even at this day signifies the Sun, in the language of Bas-Bretagne and Cornwall."² On the conversion of the descendants of these Scythic Yeuts, who, according to [565] Herodotus, sacrificed the horse (*Hi*) to the sun (*El*), the name of the Pagan jubilee of the solstice was transferred to the day of Christ's nativity, which is thus still held in remembrance by their descendants of the north.³

Sun Worship at Udaipur.—At Udaipur the sun has universal precedence; his portal (*Suryapol*) is the chief entrance to the city; his name gives dignity to the chief apartment or hall (*Suryamahall*) of the palace; and from the balcony of the sun (*Suryagokhra*) the descendant of Rama shows himself in the dark monsoon as the sun's representative. A huge painted sun of gypsum in high relief, with gilded rays, adorns the hall of audience, and in front of it is the throne. As already mentioned, the sacred standard bears his image,⁴ as does that Scythic part of the regalia called the *changi*, a disc of black felt or ostrich feathers, with a

¹ Which Mallet, from Hesychius, interprets 'good star.' [The name Goetosyrus or Octosyrus (Herodotus iv. 59) is so uncertain in form that it is useless to propose etymologies for it (E. H. Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 86). Rawlinson (*Herodotus*, 3rd ed. ii. 93) compares Greek *αἶθος*, Skt. *sūrya*, in the sense 'bright, burning Sun.']

² Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*, vol. ii. p. 42.

³ [Much of this is from Sir W. Jones, Wilford and Paterson (*Asiatic Researches*, i. 253, iii. 141, viii. 48). Herodotus (i. 216) ascribes the custom of Sun sacrifice to the Massagetae.]

⁴ [The Mughal emperors followed the same practice (Manucci i. 98).]

plate of gold to represent the sun in its centre, borne upon a pole. The royal parasol is termed *kirania*, in allusion to its shape, like a ray (*kiran*) of the orb. The last day but one of the month of Magha is called Sivaratri (night of Siva), and is held peculiarly sacred by the Rana, who is styled the Regent of Siva. It is a rigid fast, and the night is passed in vigils, and rites to the phallic representative of Siva.

The Spring Hunt.—The merry month of Phalgun is ushered in with the Aheria, or spring-hunt.¹ The preceding day the Rana distributes to all his chiefs and servants either a dress of green, or some portion thereof, in which all appear habited on the morrow, whenever the astrologer has fixed the hour for sallying forth to slay the boar to Gauri, the Ceres of the Rajputs: the Aheria is therefore called the Mahurat ka shikar, or the chase fixed astrologically. As their success on this occasion is ominous of future good, no means are neglected to secure it, either by scouts previously discovering the lair, or the desperate efforts of the hunters to slay the boar when roused. With the sovereign and his sons all the chiefs sally forth, each on his best steed, and all animated by the desire to surpass each other in acts of prowess and dexterity. It is very rare that in some one of the passes or recesses of the valley the hog is not found; the spot is then surrounded by the [566] hunters, whose vociferations soon start the *dukkara*,² and frequently a drove of hogs. Then each cavalier impels his steed, and with lance or sword, regardless of rock, ravine, or tree, presses on the bristly foe, whose knowledge of the country is of no avail when thus circumvented, and the ground soon reeks with gore, in which not unfrequently is mixed that of horse or rider. On the last occasion there occurred fewer casualties than usual; though the Chondawat Hamira, whom we nicknamed the 'Red Riever,' had his leg broken, and the second

¹ In his delight for this diversion, the Rajput evinces his Scythic propensity. The grand hunts of the last Chauhan emperor often led him into warfare, for Prithiraj was a poacher of the first magnitude, and one of his battles with the Tatars was while engaged in field sports on the Ravi. The heir of Jenghiz Khan was chief huntsman, the highest office of the State amongst the Scythic Tatars; as Ajanbahu, alike celebrated in either field of war and sport, was chief huntsman to the Chauhan emperor of Delhi, whose bard enters minutely into the subject, describing all the variety of dogs of chase.

² A hog in Hindi; in Persian *khuk*, nearly our *hog* [?].

son of Sheodan Singh, a near relation of the Rana, had his neighbour's lance driven through his arm. The young chief of Salumbar was amongst the distinguished of this day's sport. It would appal even an *English fox-hunter* to see the Rajputs driving their steeds at full speed, bounding like the antelope over every barrier—the thick jungle covert, or rocky steep bare of soil or vegetation,—with their lances balanced in the air, or leaning on the saddle-bow slashing at the boar.

The royal kitchen moves out on this occasion, and in some chosen spot the repast is prepared, of which all partake, for the hog is the favourite food of the Rajput, as it was of the heroes of Scandinavia. Nor is the *munawwar piyala*, or invitation cup, forgotten; and having feasted, and thrice slain their bristly antagonist, they return to the capital, where fame had already spread their exploits—the deeds done by the *barchhi* (lance) of Padma,¹ or the *khanda* (sword) blow of Hamira,² which lopped the head of the foe of Gauri. Even this martial amusement, the Aheria, has a religious origin. The boar is the enemy of Gauri of the Rajputs; it was so held of Isis by the Egyptians, of Ceres by the Greeks, of Freya by the north-man, whose favourite food was the hog: and of such importance was it deemed by the Franks, that the second chapter of the Salic law is entirely penal with regard to the stealers of swine. The heroes of the Edda, even in Valhalla, feed on the fat of the wild boar Saehrimner, while “the illustrious father of armies fattens his wolves Geri and Freki, and takes no other nourishment himself than the interrupted quaffing of wine”: quite the picture of Har, the Rajput god of war, and his sons the Bhairavas, Krodha, and Kala, metaphorically called the ‘sons of slaughter.’ We need hardly repeat that the cup of the Scandinavian god of war, like that of the Rajputs, is the human skull (*khopra*) [567].³

The Phāg or Holi Festival.—As Phalgun advances, the bacchanalian mirth increases; groups are continually patrolling the streets, throwing a crimson powder at each other, or ejecting a solution of it from syringes, so that the garments and visages of all are one mass of crimson. On the 8th, emphatically called

¹ Chief of Salumbar.

² Chief of Hamirgarh.

³ [On the slaughter of the boar representing a corn-spirit see Sir J. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed. Part v. vol. i. 298 ff.; Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 2nd ed. 290 f.]

the Phag, the Rana joins the queens and their attendants in the palace, when all restraint is removed and mirth is unlimited. But the most brilliant sight is the playing of the Holi on horseback, on the terrace in front of the palace. Each chief who chooses to join has a plentiful supply of missiles, formed of thin plates of mica or talc, enclosing this crimson powder, called *abira*, which with the most graceful and dextrous horsemanship they dart at each other, pursuing, caprioling, and jesting. This part of it much resembles the Saturnalia of Rome of this day, when similar missiles are scattered at the Carnivâle. The last day or Punon ends the Holi, when the Nakkaras from the Tripolia summon all the chiefs with their retinues to attend their prince, and accompany him in procession to the Chaugan, their Champ de Mars. In the centre of this is a long *sala* or hall, the ascent to which is by a flight of steps: the roof is supported by square columns without any walls, so that the court is entirely open. Here, surrounded by his chiefs, the Rana passes an hour, listening to the songs in praise of Holika, while a scurrilous *kavya* or couplet from some wag in the crowd reminds him, that exalted rank is no protection against the license of the spring Saturnalia; though 'the Diwan of Eklinga' has not to reproach himself with a failure of obedience to the rites of the goddess, having fulfilled the command 'to multiply,' more than any individual in his kingdom.¹ While the Rana and his chiefs are thus amused above, the buffoons and itinerant groups mix with the cavalcade, throw powder in their eyes, or deluge their garments with the crimson solution. To resent it would only expose the sensitive party to be laughed at, and draw upon him a host of these bacchanals: so that no alternative exists between keeping entirely aloof or mixing in the fray [568].²

¹ He has been the father of more than one hundred children, legitimate and illegitimate, though very few are living.

² That this can be done without any loss of dignity by the *Sahib log* (a name European gentlemen have assumed) is well known to those who may have partaken of the hospitalities of that honourable man, and brave and zealous officer, Colonel James Skinner, C.B., at Hansi. That his example is worthy of imitation in the mode of commanding, is best evinced by the implicit and cheerful obedience his men pay to his instructions when removed from his personal control. He has passed through the ordeal of nearly thirty years of unremitted service, and from the glorious days of Delhi and Laswari under Lake, to the last siege of Bharatpur, James Skinner

On the last day, the Rana feasts his chiefs, and the camp breaks up with the distribution of *khanda nariyal*, or swords and coco-nuts, to the chiefs and all "whom the king delighteth to honour." These *khandas* are but 'of lath,' in shape like the Andrea Ferrara, or long cut-and-thrust, the favourite weapon of the Rajput. They are painted in various ways, like Harlequin's sword, and meant as a burlesque, in unison with the character of the day, when war is banished, and the multiplication,¹ not the destruction, of man is the behest of the goddess who rules the spring. At nightfall, the forty days conclude with 'the burning of the Holi,' when they light large fires, into which various substances, as well as the crimson *abira*, are thrown, and around which groups of children are dancing and screaming in the streets like so many infernals. Until three hours after sunrise of the new month of Chait, these orgies are continued with increased vigour, when the natives bathe, change their garments, worship, and return to the rank of sober citizens; and princes and chiefs receive gifts from their domestics.²

Chait.—The first of this month is the Samvatsara (vulg. Chamchari), or anniversary of the death of the Rana's father, to whose memory solemn rites are performed both in the palace and at Ara, the royal cemetery, metaphorically termed Mahasati, or place of 'great faith.' Thither the Rana repairs, and offers oblations to the *manes* of his father; and after purifying in the Gangabheva, a rivulet which flows through the middle of 'the abode of silence,' he returns to the palace.

On the 3rd, the whole of the royal insignia proceeds to Bedla, the residence of the Chauhan chief (one of the Sixteen)- within the valley of the capital, in order to convey the Rao to court. The Rana advances to the Ganesa Deori³ to receive him; when,

has been second to none. In obtaining for this gallant and modest officer the order of the Bath, Lord Combermere must have been applauded by every person who knows the worth of him who bears it, which includes the whole army of Bengal. [James Skinner, 1778-1841. See Compton, *Military Adventurers*, 389 ff.; Buckland, *Dict. Indian Biography*, s.v.]

¹ Evincing in the presentation of the *sriphala*, the fruit of *Sri*, which is the coco-nut, emblematic of fruitfulness.

² Another point of resemblance to the Roman Saturnalia.

³ A hall so called in honour of Ganesa, or Janus, whose effigies adorn the entrance. [Janus probably = Dianus: Ganesa, 'lord of the troops of inferior deities' (*gana*).]

the Isis and Cybele of the Egyptians. But here she is only seen as Annapurna, the benefactress of mankind. The rites commence when the sun enters Aries (the opening of the Hindu year), by a deputation to a spot beyond the city, "to bring earth for the image of Gauri."¹ When this is formed, a smaller one of Iswara is made, and they are placed together; a small trench is then excavated, in which barley is sown; the ground is irrigated and artificial heat supplied till the grain germinates, when the females join hands and dance round it, invoking the blessings of Gauri on their husbands.² The young corn is then taken up, distributed, and presented by the females to the men, who wear it in their turbans. Every wealthy family has its image, or at least every purwa or subdivision of the city. These and other [571] rites known only to the initiated having been performed for several days within doors, they decorate the images, and prepare to carry them in procession³ to the lake. During these days of preparation, nothing is talked of but Gauri's departure from the palace; whether she will be as sumptuously apparelled as in the year gone by; whether an additional boat will be launched on the occasion; though not a few forget the goddess altogether in the recollection of the gazelle eyes (*mrig-nayani*) and serpentine locks (*nagini-zulf*)³ of the beauteous handmaids who are selected to attend her. At length the hour arrives, the martial nakkaras give the signal "to the cannonier without," and speculation is at rest when the guns on the summit of the castle of Eklinggarh announce that Gauri has commenced her excursion to the lake.

The Bathing of the Goddess.—The cavalcade assembles on the magnificent terrace, and the Rana, surrounded by his nobles, leads the way to the boats, of a form as primitive as that which conveyed the Argonauts to Colchis. The scenery is admirably adapted for these fêtes, the ascent being gradual from the margin of the lake, which here forms a fine bay, and gently rising to the crest of the ridge on which the palace and dwellings of the chiefs are built. Every turret and balcony is crowded with spectators,

¹ Here we have Gauri as the type of the earth.

² [The Gardens of Adonis, for which see Sir J. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 3rd ed. i. 236 ff.]

³ Here the Hindu mixes Persian with his Sanskrit, and produces the mongrel dialect Hindi.

from the palace to the water's edge ; and the ample flight of marble steps which intervene from the Tripolia, or triple portal, to the boats, is a dense mass of females in variegated robes, whose scarfs but half conceal their ebon tresses adorned with the rose and the jessamine. A more imposing or more exhilarating sight cannot be imagined than the entire population of a city thus assembled for the purpose of rejoicing ; the countenance of every individual, from the prince to the peasant, dressed in smiles. Carry the eye to heaven, and it rests on ' a sky without a cloud ' : below is a magnificent lake, the even surface of the deep blue waters broken only by palaces of marble, whose arched piazzas are seen through the foliage of orange groves, plantain, and tamarind ; while the vision is bounded by noble mountains, their peaks towering over each other, and composing an immense amphitheatre. Here the deformity of vice intrudes not ; no object is degraded by inebriation : no tumultuous disorder or deafening clamour, but all await patiently, with eyes directed to the Tripolia, the appearance of Gauri. At length the procession is seen winding down the steep, and in the midst [572], borne on a *pat*,¹ or throne, gorgeously arrayed in yellow robes, and blazing with ' barbaric pearl and gold,' the goddess appears ; on either side the two beauties wave the silver *chamara* over her head, while the more favoured damsels act as harbingers, preceding her with wands of silver : the whole chanting hymns. On her approach, the Rana, his chiefs and ministers rise and remain standing till the goddess is seated on her throne close to the water's edge, when all bow, and the prince and court take their seats in the boats. The females then form a circle around the goddess, unite hands, and with a measured step and various graceful inclinations of the body, keeping time by beating the palms at particular cadences, move round the image singing hymns, some in honour of the goddess of abundance, others on love and chivalry ; and embodying little episodes of national achievements, occasionally sprinkled with *double entendre*, which excites a smile and significant nod from the chiefs, and an inclination of the head of the fair choristers. The festival being entirely female, not a single male mixed in the immense groups, and even Iswará himself, the husband of Gauri, attracts no attention, as appears from his ascetic or mendicant form begging his dole

¹ Takht, Pat, Persian and Sanskrit, alike meaning *board*.

from the bounteous and universal mother. It is taken for granted that the goddess is occupied in bathing all the time she remains, and ancient tradition says death was the penalty of any male intruding on these solemnities; but the present prince deems them so fitted for amusement, that he has even instituted a second Ganggor. Some hours are thus consumed, while easy and good-humoured conversation is carried on. At length, the ablutions over, the goddess is taken up, and conveyed to the palace with the same forms and state. The Rana and his chiefs then unmoor their boats, and are rowed round the margin of the lake, to visit in succession the other images of the goddess, around which female groups are chanting and worshipping, as already described, with which ceremonies the evening closes, when the whole terminates with a grand display of fireworks, the finale of each of the three days dedicated to Gauri.

Considerable resemblance is to be discerned between this festival of Gauri and that in honour of the Egyptian Diana¹ at Bubastis, and Isis at Busiris, within the [573] Delta of the Nile, of which Herodotus says: "They who celebrate those of Diana embark in vessels; the women strike their tabors, the men their flutes; the rest of both sexes clap their hands, and join in chorus. Whatever city they approach, the vessels are brought on shore; the women use ungracious language, dance, and indelicately throw about their garments."² Wherever the rites of Isis prevailed, we find the boat introduced as an essential emblem in her worship, whether in the heart of Rajasthan, on the banks of the Nile, or in the woods of Germany. Bryant³

¹ The Ephesian Diana is the twin sister of Gauri, and can have a Sanskrit derivation in *Devianna*, 'the goddess of food,' contracted *Deanna*, though commonly *Anna-de* or *Anna-devi*, and *Annapurna*, 'filling with food,' or the nourisher, the name applied by 'the mother of mankind,' when she places the repast before the messenger of heaven:

"Heavenly Stranger, please to taste
These bounties, which our Nourisher, from whom
All perfect good, unmeasured out, descends,
To us for food and for delight, hath caused
The earth to yield."

Paradise Lost, Bk. v. 397-401.

[Diana is the feminine form of *Dianus*, Janus.]

² ii. 59-61.

³ *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, p. 312.

furnishes an interesting account from Diodorus and Curtius, illustrated by drawings from Pocock, from the temple of Luxor, near Carnac, in the Thebaid, of 'the ship of Isis,' carrying an ark; and from a male figure therein, this learned person thinks it bears a mysterious allusion to the deluge. I am inclined to deem the personage in the ark Osiris, husband of Isis, the type of the sun arrived in the sign of Aries (of which the ram's heads ornamenting both the prow and stem of the vessel are typical), the harbinger of the annual fertilizing inundation of the Nile: evincing identity of origin as an equinoctial festival with that of Gauri (Isis) of the Indu-Scythic races of Rajasthan.

The German Suevi adored Isis, and also introduced a ship in her worship, for which Tacitus¹ is at a loss to account, and with his usual candour says he has no materials whence to investigate the origin of a worship denoting the foreign origin of the tribe. This Isis of the Suevi was evidently a form of Ertha, the chief divinity of all the Saxon races, who, with her consort Teutates or Hesus² (Mercury), were the chief deities of both the Celtic and early Gothic races: the [574] Budha and Ila of the Rajputs; in short, the earth,³ the prolific mother, the Isis of Egypt, the Ceres of Greece, the Annapurna (giver of food) of the Rajputs. On some ancient temples dedicated to this Hindu Ceres we have sculptured on the frieze and pedestal of the columns the emblem of abundance, termed the *kamakumbha*, or vessel of desire, a vase of elegant form, from which branches of the palm are gracefully pendent. Herodotus says that similar water-vessels, filled

¹ [*Germania*, ix.]

² Hesus is probably derived from Iswara, or Isa, *the god*. Toth was the Egyptian, and Teutates the Scandinavian, Mercury. I have elsewhere attempted to trace the origin of the Suevi, Su, or Yeuts of Yeutland (Jutland), to Yute, Getae, or Jat, of Central Asia, who carried thence the religion of Buddha into India as well as to the Baltic. There is little doubt that the races called Jotner, Jaeter, Jotuns, Jaets, and Yeuts, who followed the Asi into Scandinavia, migrated from the Jaxartes, the land of the great Getae (Massagetae); the leader was supposed to be endued with supernatural powers, like the Buddhist, called Vidiavan, or magician, whose haunts adjoined Aria, the cradle of the Magi. They are designated Aripunta [?], under the sign of a serpent, the type of Budha; or Ahriman, 'the foe of man.' [Much of this crude speculation is taken from Wilford (*Asiatic Researches*, iii. 133).]

³ The German Ertha, to show her kindred to the Ila of the Rajputs, had her ear drawn by a cow, under which form the Hindus typify the earth (*prithivi*).

with wheat and barley, were carried in the festival of Isis ; and all who have attended to Egyptian antiquities are aware that the god Canopus is depicted under the form of a water-jar, or Nilo-meter, whose covering bears the head of Osiris.

The Agastya Festival.—To render the analogy perfect between the vessels emblematic of the Isis of the Nile and the Ganges, there is a festival sacred to the sage Agastya, who presides over the star Canopus, when the sun enters *Virgo (Kanya)*. The *kamakumbha* is then personified under the epithet *kumbhayoni*, and the votary is instructed to pour water into a sea-shell, in which having placed white flowers and unground rice, turning his face to the south, he offers it with this incantation : “ Hail Kumbhayoni, born in the sight of Mitra and Varuna (the sun and water divinities), bright as the blossom of the *kusa* (grass, who sprung from Agni (fire) and the Maruts.” By the presence of Ganga (the river) to Gauri, we see that the Ganggore festival is essentially sacred to a river-goddess, affording additional proof of the common origin of the rites of the Isis of Egypt and India.

The Egyptians, according to Plutarch, considered the Nile : flowing from Osiris, in like manner as the Hindu poet describes the fair Ganga flowing from the head of Iswara, which Sir Jones thus classically paints in his hymn to Ganga :

Above the reach of mortal ken,
On blest Coilasa's top, where every stem
Glowed with a vegetable gem,
Mahesa stood, the dread and joy of men ;
While Parvati, to gain a boon,
Fixed on his locks a beamy moon,
And hid his frontal eye in jocund play,
With reluctant sweet delay ;
All nature straight was locked in dim eclipse,
Till Brahmins pure, with hallowed lips
And warbled prayers, restored the day,
When Ganga from his brow, with heavenly fingers prest,
Sprang radiant, and descending, graced the caverns of the west [575

The Goddess Ganga.—Ganga, the river-goddess, like the Nile is the type of fertility, and like that celebrated stream, has her source amidst the eternal glaciers of Chandragiri or Soma (the mountains of the moon) ; the higher peaks of the giant

Himalaya, where Parvati is represented as ornamenting the tiara of Iswara "with a beamy moon." In this metaphor, and in his title of Somanatha (lord of the moon), we again have evidence of Iswara, or Siva, after representing the sun, having the satellite moon as his ornament.¹ His Olympus, Kailasa, is studded with that majestic pine, the cedar; thence he is called Kedarnath, 'lord of the cedar-trees.'² The mysteries of Osiris and those of Eleusis³ were of the same character, commemorative of the first germ of civilization, the culture of the earth, under a variety of names, Ertha, Isis, Diana, Ceres, Ila. It is a curious fact that in the terra-cotta images of Isis, frequently excavated about her temple at Paestum,⁴ she holds in her right hand an exact representation of the Hindu lingam and yoni combined; and on the Indian expedition to Egypt, our Hindu soldiers deemed themselves amongst the altars of their own god Iswara (Osiris), from the abundance of his emblematic representatives.

(The Aghori Ascetics.—In the festival of Ganggor, as before mentioned, Iswara yields to his consort Gauri, and occupies an unimportant position near her at the water's edge, meanly clad, smoking intoxicating herbs, and, whether by accident or design, holding the stalk of an onion in full blossom as a mace or club—plant regarded by some of the Egyptians with veneration, and detested by the Hindus generally in detestation: and why they should on such an occasion thus degrade Iswara, I know not. Onion-juice is reluctantly taken when prescribed medicinally, as a powerful stimulant, by those who would reject spirituous liquors; and there are classes, as the Aghori, that worship Iswara in his most degraded form, who will not only devour raw flesh, but that of man; and to whom it is a matter of perfect

Let it be borne in mind that Indu, Chandra, Soma, are all epithets of the moon, or as *he* is classically styled (in an inscription of the famous Marpal, which I discovered in Chitor), Nisanath, the ruler of darkness (Soma).

¹ [Kedārnāth has, of course, no connexion with the cedar tree. The origin of the name 'Lord of Kedār' is unknown; probably Kedār was an old cult title of Siva.]

² I have before remarked that a Sanskrit etymology might be given to this word in Ila and Isa, *i.e.* 'the goddess of the earth' [?] [p. 636, note].

³ I was informed at Naples that four thousand of these were dug out of a spot, and I obtained while at Paestum many fragments and heads of this goddess.

indifference whether the victim was slaughtered or died a natural death. For the honour of humanity, such monsters are few in number; but that they practise [576] these deeds I can testify, from a personal visit to their haunts, where I saw the cave of one of these Troglodyte monsters, in which by his own command he was inhumed; and which will remain closed, until curiosity and incredulity greater than mine may disturb the bones of the Aghori of Abu.

The *ὀμοφαγία*, or eating raw flesh with the blood, was a part of the secret mysteries of Osiris, in commemoration of the happy change in the condition of mankind from savage to civilized life, and intended to deter by disgust the return thereto.¹

The Buddhists pursued this idea to excess; and in honour of Adiswara, the First, who from his abode of Meru taught them the arts of agriculture, they altogether abandoned that type of savage life, the eating of the flesh of animals,² and confined themselves to the fruits of the earth. With these sectarian anti-idolaters, who are almost all of Rajput descent, the beneficent Lakshmi, Sri, or Gauri, is an object of sincere devotion.

Affinities of Hindu to other Mythologies.—But we must close this digression; for such is the affinity between the mythology of India, Greece, and Egypt, that a bare recapitulation of the numerous surnames of the Hindu goddess of abundance would lead us beyond reasonable limits; all are forms of Parvati or Durga Mata, the Mater Montana of Greece and Rome, an epithet of Cybele or Vesta (according to Diodorus), as the guardian goddess of children, one of the characters of the Rajput 'Mother of the Mount,' whose shrine crowns many a pinnacle in Mewar; and who, with the prolific Gauri, is amongst the amiable forms of the universal mother, whose functions are more varied and extensive than her sisters of Egypt and of Greece. Like the Ephesian Diana, Durga wears the crescent on her head. She is also 'the turreted Cybele,' the guardian goddess of all places of strength (*durga*),³ and like her she is drawn or carried by the lion. As Mata Janavi, 'the Mother of Births,' she is Juno

¹ Prichard's *Researches into the Physical History of Man*, p. 369. [For a full discussion of *ὀμοφαγία* see Miss J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 483 ff.]

² The Buddhists of Tartary make no scruple of eating flesh.

³ *Durga*, 'a fort'; as Suvarnadurg, 'the golden castle,' etc., etc.

Lucina : as Padma, 'whose throne is the lotos,' she is the fair Isis of the Nile : as Tripura,¹ 'governing the three worlds,' and Atmadevi, 'the Goddess of Souls,' she is the Hecate Triformis of the Greeks. In short, her power is manifested under every form from the birth, and all the [577] intermediate stages until death ; whether Janavi, Gauri, or the terrific Kali, the Proserpine or Kalligeneia of the West.

Whoever desires to witness one of the most imposing and pleasing of Hindu festivals, let him repair to Udaipur, and behold the rites of the lotus-queen Padma, the Gauri of Rajasthan.

Chait (Sudi) 8th, which, being after the Ides, is the 23rd of the month, is sacred to Devi, the goddess of every tribe ; she is called Asokashtami, and being the ninth night (*navratni*) from the opening of their Floralia, they perform the *homa*, or sacrifice of fire. On this day a grand procession takes place to the Chaugan, and every Rajput worships his tutelary divinity.

The Birth of Rāma.—Chait (Sudi) 9th is the anniversary of Rama, the grand beacon of the solar race, kept with great rejoicings at Udaipur. Horses and elephants are worshipped, and all the implements of war. A procession takes place to the Chaugan, and the succeeding day, called the Dasahra or tenth, is celebrated in Asoj.

The Festival of Kamadeva.—The last days of spring are dedicated to Kamadeva, the god of love. The scorching winds of the hot season are already beginning to blow, when Flora droops her head, and "the god of love turns anchorite" ; yet the rose continues to blossom, and affords the most fragrant chaplets for the Rajputnis, amidst all the heats of summer. Of this the queen of flowers, the jessamine (*chameli*), white and yellow, the mogra,² the champaka, that flourish in extreme heat, the ladies form garlands, which they twine in their dark hair, weave into bracelets, or wear as pendent collars. There is no city in the East where the adorations of the sex to Kamadeva are more fervent than in 'the city of the rising sun' (Udayapura). On the 13th and 14th of Chait they sing hymns handed down by the sacred bards :

"Hail, god of the flowery bow : ³ hail, warrior with a fish on

¹ Literally *Tripoli*, 'the three cities,' *pura*, *polis*.

² [The double jasmin (*Michelia champaka*).]

³ Cupid's bow is formed of a garland of flowers.

thy banner ! hail, powerful divinity, who causeth the firmness of the sage to forsake him ! ”

“ Glory to Madana, to Kama,¹ the god of gods ; to Him by whom Brahma [578], Vishnu, Siva, and Indra are filled with emotions of rapture ! ”—*Bhavishya Purana*.²

Festivals in the month Baisākh : April-May.—There is but one festival in this month of any note, when the grand procession denominated the ‘ Nakkara ki aswari ’ (from the equestrians being summoned, as already described, by the grand kettledrums from the Tripolia), takes place ; and this is against the canons of the Hindu church, being instituted by the present Rana in S. 1847, a memorable year in the calendar. It was in this year, on the 2nd of Baisakh, that he commanded a repetition of the rites of Gauri, by the name of the Little Ganggor ; but this act of impiety was marked by a sudden rise of the waters of the Pichola, the bursting of the huge embankment, and the inundation of the lake’s banks, to the destruction of one-third of the capital : life, property, mansions, trees, all were swept away in the tremendous rush of water, whose ravages are still marked by the site of streets and bazaars now converted into gardens or places of recreation, containing thousands of acres within the walls, subdivided by hedges of the cactus, the natural fence of Mewar, which alike thrives in the valley or covers the most barren spots of her highest hills. But although the superstitious look grave, and add that a son was also taken from him on this very day, yet the Rana persists in maintaining the fête he established ; the barge is manned, he and his chiefs circumnavigate the Pichola, regale on ma’ajun, and terrify Varuna (the water-god) with the pyrotechnic exhibitions.

Although the court calendar of Udaipur notices only those festivals on which State processions occur, yet there are many minor fêtes, which are neither unimportant nor uninteresting. We shall enumerate a few, alike in Baisakh, Jeth, and Asarh, which are blank as to the Nakkara Aswari.

Savitrivrata Festival.—On the 29th Baisakh there is a fast common to India peculiar to the women, who perform certain rites under the sacred fig-tree (the *vata* or *pipal*), to preserve

¹ Madana, he who intoxicates with desire (*kama*), both epithets of the god of love. The festivals on the 13th and 14th are called Madana trayodasi (the tenth) and Chaturdasi (fourteenth).

² *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 278.

them from widowhood ; and hence the name of the fast Savitri-vrata.¹

Festivals in the month Jeth : May-June.—On the 2nd of Jeth, when the sun is in the zenith, the Rajput ladies commemorate the birth of the sea-born goddess Rambha, the queen of the naiads or Apsaras,² whose birth, like that of Venus, was from the froth of the waters ; and [579] hence the Rajput bards designate all the fair messengers of heaven by the name of Apsaras, who summon the ‘ chosen ’ from the field of battle, and convey him to the ‘ mansion of the sun.’³

The Aranya-Shashthi Festival.—On the 6th of Jeth the ladies have another festival called the Aranya Shashthi, because on this day those desirous of offspring walk in the woods (*aranya*) to gather and eat certain herbs. Sir W. Jones has remarked the analogy between this and the Druidic ceremony of gathering the mistletoe (also on the Shashthi, or 6th day of the moon), as a preservative against sterility.

Festivals in the month Āsārḥ : June-July.—Asarḥ, the initiative month of the periodical rains, has no particular festivity at Udaipur, though in other parts of India the Rathayatra, or procession of the car of Vishnu or Jagannatha (lord of the universe) is well known : this is on the 2nd and the 11th, ‘ the night of the gods,’ when Vishnu (the sun) reposes four months.

Festivals in the month Sāwan : July-August.—Sawan, classically Sravana. There are two important festivals, with processions, in this month.

The Tij.—The third, emphatically called ‘ the Tij ’ (third), is sacred to the mountain goddess Parvati, being the day on which, after long austerities, she was reunited to Siva : she accordingly declared it holy, and proclaimed that whoever invoked her on that day should possess whatever was desired. The Tij is

¹ [Savitri-vrata means ‘ the vow to Savitri,’ and has no connexion with the *vata* or banyan-tree. But the tree is worshipped in connexion with it on 15th light or dark fortnight of the month Jeth (*Census Report, Baroda*, 1901, i. 127).]

² *Ap*, ‘ water,’ and *sara*, ‘ froth or essence.’ [The word means ‘ going in the waters, or between the waters of the clouds.’]

³ The Romans held the calends of June (generally Jeth) sacred to the goddess Carna, significant of the sun. Carneus was the sun-god of the Celts, and a name of Apollo at Sparta, and other Grecian cities. The Karnecia was a festival in honour of Apollo.

Accordingly revered by the women, and the husbandman of Rajasthan, who deems it a most favourable day to take possession of land, or to reinhabit a deserted dwelling. When on the expulsion of the predatory powers from the devoted lands of Mewar, proclamations were disseminated far and wide, recalling the expatriated inhabitants, they showed their love of country by obedience to the summons. Collecting their goods and chattels, they congregated from all parts, but assembled at a common rendezvous to make their entry to the *bapota*, 'land of their sires,' on the Tij of Sawan. On this fortunate occasion, a band of three hundred men, women, and children, with colours flying, drums beating, the females taking precedence with brass vessels of water on their heads, and chanting the *suhaila* (song of joy), entered the town of Kapasan, to revisit their desolate dwellings [580], and return thanks on their long-abandoned altars to Parvati¹ for a happiness they had never contemplated.

Red garments are worn by all classes on this day, and at Jaipur clothes of this colour are presented by the Raja to all the chiefs. At that court the Tij is kept with more honour than at Udaipur. An image of Parvati on the Tij, richly attired, is borne on a throne by women chanting hymns, attended by the prince and his nobles. On this day, fathers present red garments and stuffs to their daughters.

The Nāgpanchami Festival : Serpent Worship.—The 5th is the Nagpanchami, or day set apart for the propitiation of the chief of the reptile race, the Naga or serpent. Few subjects have more occupied the notice of the learned world than the mysteries of Ophite worship, which are to be traced wherever there existed a remnant of civilization, or indeed of humanity; among the savages of the savannahs² of America, and the magi of Fars, with whom it was the type of evil,—their Ahrimanes.³ The Nagas, or serpent-genii of the Rajputs, have a semi-human structure, precisely as Diodorus describes the snake-mother of

¹ The story of the vigils of Parvati, preparatory to her being reunited to her lord, consequent to her sacrifice as *Sati*, is the counterpart of the Grecian fable of Cybele, her passion for, and marriage with, the youth Atys or *Papas*, the *Baba*, or universal father, of the Hindus.

² How did a word of Persian growth come to signify 'the boundless brake' of the new world?

³ *Arti*, 'a foe'; *manus*, 'man.' [Angro Mamyuch, 'destructive spirit.']

the Scythae, in whose country originated this serpent-worship, engrafted on the tenets of Zardusht, of the Puranas of the priesthood of Egypt, and on the fables of early Greece.¹ Dupuis, Volney, and other expounders of the mystery, have given an astronomical solution to what they deem a varied ramification of an ancient fable, of which that of Greece, 'the dragon guarding the fruits of Hesperides,' may be considered the most elegant version. Had these learned men seen those ancient sculptures in India, which represent 'the fall,' they might have changed their opinion. . The traditions of the Jains or Buddhists (originating in the land of the Takshaks,² or Turkistan) assert the creation of the human species in pairs, called *jugal*, who fed off the ever-fructifying *kalpa-vriksha*, which possesses all the characters of the Tree of Life, like it bearing

Ambrosial fruit of vegetable gold ;

which was termed *amrita*, and rendered them immortal. A drawing, brought by [581] Colonel Coombs, from a sculptured column in a cave temple in the south of India, represents the first pair at the foot of this ambrosial tree, and a serpent entwined among the heavily laden boughs, presenting to them some of the fruit from his mouth. The tempter appears to be at that part of his discourse, when

. . . his words, replete with guile,
Into her heart too easy entrance won :
Fixed on the fruit she gazed.

This is a curious subject to be engraved on an ancient pagan temple ; if Jain or Buddhist, the interest would be considerably enhanced. On this festival, at Udaipur, as well as throughout India, they strew particular plants about the threshold, to prevent the entrance of reptiles.

The Rākhi Festival.—This festival, which is held on the last day of Sawan, was instituted in honour of the good genii, when Durvasas the sage instructed Salono (the genius or nymph presiding over the month of Sawan) to bind on *rakhis*, or bracelets, as charms to avert evil. The ministers of religion and females alone are privileged to bestow these charmed wrist-bands. The ladies of

¹ [There is no reason to believe that snake-worship was not independently practised in India.]

² This is the snake-race of India, the foes of the Pandus.

Rajasthan, either by their handmaids or the family priests, send a bracelet as the token of their esteem to such as they adopt as brothers, who return gifts in acknowledgement of the honour. The claims thus acquired by the fair are far stronger than those of consanguinity: for illustration of which I may refer to an incident already related in the annals of this house.¹ Sisters also present their brothers with clothes on this day, who make an offering of gold in return.²

This day is hailed by the Brahmans as indemnifying them for their expenditure of silk and spangles, with which they decorate the wrists of all who are likely to make a proper return.

Festivals in the month Bhādon: August-September.—On the 3rd there is a grand procession to the Chaugan; and the 8th, or Ashtami, is the birth of Krishna, which will be described at large in an account of Nathdwara. There are several holidays in this month, when the periodical [582] rains are in full descent; but that on the last but one (Sudi 14, or 29th) is the most remarkable.

Ancestor Worship.—On this day³ commences the worship of the ancestral manes (the Pitrideva, or *father-gods*) of the Rajputs, which continues for fifteen days. The Rana goes to the cemetery at Ara, and performs at the cenotaph of each of his forefathers the rites enjoined, consisting of ablutions, prayers, and the hanging of garlands of flowers, and leaves sacred to the dead, on their monuments. Every chieftain does the same amongst the altars of the 'great ancients' (*bara burha*); or, if absent from their estates, they accompany their sovereign to Ara.

¹ See p. 364.

² I returned from three to five pieces of gold for the *rakhis* sent by my adopted sisters; from one of whom, the sister of the Rana, I annually received this pledge by one of her handmaids; three of them I have yet in my possession, though I never saw the donor, who is now no more. I had, likewise, some presented through the family priest, from the Bundi queen-mother, with whom I have conversed for hours, though she was invisible to me; and from the ladies of rank of the chieftains' families, but one of whom I ever beheld, though they often called upon me for the performance of brotherly offices in consequence of such tie. There is a delicacy in this custom, with which the bond uniting the cavaliers of Europe to the service of the fair, in the days of chivalry, will not compare.

³ Sacred to Vishnu, with the title of *Ananta*, or infinite—*Bhavishyottara*. (See *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 291.) Here Vishnu appears as 'lord of the manes.'

CHAPTER 22

Khadga Sthapana, Sword Worship.—The festival in which this imposing rite occurs is the Nauratri,¹ sacred to the god of war, commencing on the first of the month Asoj. It is essentially martial, and confined to the Rajput, who on the departure of the monsoon finds himself at liberty to indulge his passion whether for rapine or revenge, both which in these tropical regions are necessarily suspended during the rains. Arguing from the order of the passions, we may presume that the first objects of emblematic worship were connected with war [583], and we accordingly find the highest reverence paid to arms by every nation of antiquity. The Scythic warrior of Central Asia, the intrepid Gete, admitted no meaner representative of the god of battle than his own scimitar.² He worshipped it, he swore by it; it was buried with him, in order that he might appear before the martial divinity in the other world as became his worshipper on earth: for the Gete of Transoxiana, from the earliest ages, not only believed in the soul's immortality, and in the doctrine of rewards and punishments hereafter, but, according to the father of history, he was a monotheist; of which fact he has left a memorable proof in the punishment of the celebrated Anacharsis, who, on his return from a visit to Thales and his brother philosophers of Greece, attempted to introduce into the land of the Saka (Sakatai) the corrupted polytheism of Athens.

If we look westward from this the central land of earliest

¹ Nauratri may be interpreted the nine days' festival, or the 'new night' [?].

² "It was natural enough," says Gibbon, "that the Scythians should adore with peculiar devotion the god of war; but as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea, or a corporeal representation, they worshipped their tutelar deity under the symbol of an iron cimeter. If the rites of Scythia were practised on this solemn occasion,* a lofty altar, or rather pile of faggots, three hundred yards in length and in breadth, was raised in a spacious plain; and the sword of Mars was placed erect on the summit of this rustic altar, which was annually consecrated by the blood of sheep, horses, and of the hundredth captive" (Gibbon's *Roman Empire*, ed. W. Smith, iv. 194 f.).

* Attila dictating the terms of peace with the envoys of Constantinople, at the city of Margus, in Upper Moesia.

civilization, to Dacia, Thrace, Pannonia, the seats of the Thyssagetae or western Getae, we find the same form of adoration addressed to the emblem of Mars, as mentioned by Xenophon in his memorable retreat, and practised by Alaric and his Goths, centuries afterwards, in the Acropolis of Athens. If we transport ourselves to the shores of Scandinavia, amongst the Cimbri and Getae of Jutland, to the Ultima Thule, wherever the name of Gete prevails, we shall find the same adoration paid by the Getic warrior to his sword.

The Frisian Frank also of Gothic race, adhered to this worship, and transmitted it with the other rites of the Getic warrior of the Jaxartes; such as the adoration of the steed, sacred to the sun, the great god of the Massagetae, as well as of the Rajput, who sacrificed it at the annual feast, or with his arms and wife burnt it on his funeral pile. Even the kings of the 'second race' kept up the religion of their Scythic sires from the Jaxartes, and the bones of the war-horse of Chilperic were exhumed with those of the monarch. These rites, as well as those long-cherished chivalrous notions, for which the Salian Franks have ever been conspicuous [584], had their birth in Central Asia; for though contact with the more polished Arab softened the harsh character of the western warrior, his thirst for glory, the romantic charm which fed his passion, and his desire to please the fair, he inherited from his ancestors on the shores of the Baltic, which were colonized from the Oxus. Whether Charlemagne addressed his sword as Joyeuse,¹ or the Scandinavian hero Angantýr as the enchanted blade Tyrſing (Hialmar's bane), each came from one common origin, the people which invented the custom of Khadga Sthapana, or 'adoration of the sword.' But neither the falchion 'made by the dwarfs for Suafurlama,' nor the redoubled sword of Bayard with which he dubbed the first Francis,—not even the enchanted brand of Ariosto's hero, can for a moment compare with the double-edged khanda (scimitar) annually worshipped by the chivalry of Mewar. Before I descant on this monstrous blade, I shall give an abstract of the ceremonies on each of the nine days sacred to the god of war.

The Dasahra Festival.—On the 1st of Asoj, after fasting, ablution, and prayer on the part of the prince and his household, the double-edged khanda is removed from the hall of arms

¹ St. Palaye, *Memoirs of Ancient Chivalry*, p. 305.

(*ayudhsala*), and having received the homage (*puja*) of the court, it is carried in procession to the Kishanpol (gate of Kishan), where it is delivered to the Raj Jogi,¹ the Mahants, and band of Jogis assembled in front of the temple of Devi 'the goddess,' adjoining the portal of Kishan.² By these, the monastic militant adorers of Hara, the god of battle, the brand emblematic of the divinity is placed³ on the altar before the image of his divine consort. At three in the afternoon the nakkaras, or grand kettle-drums, proclaim from the Tripolia⁴ the signal for the assemblage of the chiefs with their retainers; and the Rana and his cavalcade proceed direct to the stables, when a buffalo is sacrificed in honour of the war-horse. Thence the procession moves to the temple of Devi, where the Raja Krishan (*Godi*) has proceeded. Upon this, the Rana seats himself close to the Raj Jogi, presents two pieces of [585] silver and a coco-nut, performs homage to the sword (*khadga*), and returns to the palace.

Asoj 2nd. In similar state he proceeds to the Chaugan, their Champ de Mars, where a buffalo is sacrificed; and on the same day another buffalo victim is felled by the nervous arm of a Rajput, near the Toranpol, or triumphal gate. In the evening the Rana goes to the temple of Amba Mata, the universal mother, when several goats and buffaloes bleed to the goddess.

The 3rd. Procession to the Chaugan, when another buffalo is offered; and in the afternoon five buffaloes and two rams are sacrificed to Harsiddh Mata.⁵

On the 4th, as on every one of the nine days, the first visit is to the Champ de Mars: the day opens with the slaughter of a buffalo. The Rana proceeds to the temple of Devi, when he worships the sword, and the standard of the Raj Jogi, to whom, as the high-priest of Siva, the god of war, he pays homage, and

¹ Raj Jogi is the chief of the ascetic warriors; the Mahants are commanders [the term being usually applied to the abbot of a monastery]. More will be said of this singular society when we discuss the religious institutions of Mewar.

² The god Krishna is called Kishan in the dialects.

³ This is the *sthapana* of the sword, literally its inauguration or induction, for the purposes of adoration.

⁴ Tripolia, or triple portal.

⁵ [The chief centres of worship of Harsiddh Māta are Gāndhari and Ujjain. It is said that her image stood on the sea-shore, and that she used to swallow all the vessels that passed by (R. E. Enthoven, *Folklore Notes Gujarāt*, 5; *BQ*, ix. Part i. 226).]

makes offering of sugar, and a garland of roses. A buffalo having been previously fixed to a stake near the temple, the Rana sacrifices him with his own hand, by piercing him from his travelling throne (raised on men's shoulders and surrounded by his vassals) with an arrow. In the days of his strength, he seldom failed almost to bury the feather in the flank of the victim ; but on the last occasion his enfeebled arm made him exclaim with Prithiraj, when, captive and blind, he was brought forth to amuse the Tartar despot, " I draw not the bow as in the days of yore."

On the 5th, after the usual sacrifice at the Chaugan, and an elephant fight, the procession marches to the temple of Asapurna (Hope) ; a buffalo and a ram are offered to the goddess adored by all the Rajputs, and the tutelary divinity of the Chauhans. On this day the lives of some victims are spared at the intercession of the Nagar-Seth, or chief-magistrate,¹ and those of his faith, the Jains.

On the 6th, the Rana visits the Chaugan, but makes no sacrifice. In the afternoon, prayers and victims to Devi ; and in the evening the Rana visits Bhikharinath, the chief of the Kanphara Jogis, or split-ear ascetics

The 7th. After the daily routine at the Chaugan, and sacrifices to Devi (the goddess of destruction), the chief equerry is commanded to adorn the steeds with their new caparisons, and lead them to be bathed in the lake. At night, the sacred fire (*homa*) is kindled, and a buffalo and a ram are sacrificed to Devi ; the Jogis [586] are called up and feasted on boiled rice and sweetmeats. On the conclusion of this day, the Rana and his chieftains visit the hermitage of Sukharia Baba, an anchorite of the Jogi sect.

8th. There is the *homa*, or fire-sacrifice in the palace. In the afternoon, the prince, with a select cavalcade, proceeds to the village of Samina, beyond the city walls, and visits a celebrated Gosain.²

9th. There is no morning procession. The horses from the royal stables, as well as those of the chieftains, are taken to the

¹ [Formerly an important personage, but his authority has now much decreased (*BG*, ix. Part i. 96).]

² On this day sons visit and pay adoration to their fathers. The diet is chiefly of vegetables and fruits. Brahmans with their unmarried daughters are feasted, and receive garments called *chunri* from their chiefs. [This is a kind of cloth dyed by partly tying it in knots, which escape the action of the dye.]

lake, and bathed by their grooms, and on returning from purification they are caparisoned in their new housings, led forth, and receive the homage of their riders, and the Rana bestows a largess on the master of the horse, the equerries, and grooms. At three in the afternoon, the nakkaras having thrice sounded, the whole State insignia, under a select band, proceed to Mount Matachal, and bring home the sword. When its arrival in the court of the palace is announced, the Rana advances and receives it with due homage from the hands of the Raj Jogi, who is presented with a khilat; while the Mahant, who has performed all the austerities during the nine days, has his *patra*¹ filled with gold and silver coin. The whole of the Jogis are regaled, and presents are made to their chiefs. The elephants and horses again receive homage, and the sword, the shield, and spear are worshipped within the palace. At three in the morning the prince takes repose.

The 10th, or Dasahra,² is a festival universally known in India, and respected by all classes, although entirely military, being commemorative of the day on which the deified Rama commenced his expedition to Lanka for the redemption of Sita; ³ the 'tenth of Asoj' is consequently deemed by the Rajput a fortunate day for warlike enterprise. The day commences with a visit from the [587] prince or chieftain to his spiritual guide. Tents and carpets are prepared at the Chaugan or Matachal mount, where the artillery is sent; and in the afternoon the Rana, his chiefs, and their retainers repair to the field of Mars, worship the *khejra* tree,⁴ liberate the *nilkanth* or jay (sacred to Rama), and return amidst a discharge of guns.

¹ The Jogi's *patra* is not so revolting as that of their divinity Hara (the god of war), which is the human *cranium*; this is a hollow gourd.

² From *das*, the numeral *ten*; *the tenth*. [It means 'the feast that removes ten sins.']

³ In this ancient story we are made acquainted with the distant maritime wars which the princes of India carried on. Even supposing Ravana's abode to be the insular Ceylon, he must have been a very powerful prince to equip an armament sufficiently numerous to carry off from the remote kingdom of Kosala the wife of the great king of the Suryas. It is most improbable that a petty king of Ceylon could wage equal war with a potentate who held the chief dominion of India; whose father, Dasaratha, drove his victorious car (*ratha*) over every region (*desa*), and whose intercourse with the countries beyond the Brahmaputra is distinctly to be traced in the Ramayana. [Dasaratha has no connexion with *desa*: the name means 'he who possesses ten (*dasa*) chariots (*ratha*).']

⁴ [*Prosopis spicigera*.]

11th. In the morning, the Rana, with all the State insignia, the kettledrums sounding in the rear, proceeds towards the Matachal mount, and takes the muster of his troops, amidst discharges of cannon, tilting, and display of horsemanship. The spectacle is imposing even in the decline of this house. The hilarity of the party, the diversified costume, the various forms, colours, and decorations of the turbans, in which some have the heron plume, or sprigs from some shrub sacred to the god of war ; the clusters of lances, shining matchlocks, and black bucklers, the scarlet housings of the steeds, and waving pennons, recall forcibly the glorious days of the devoted Sanga, or the immortal Partap, who on such occasions collected round the black *changi* and crimson banner of Mewar a band of sixteen thousand of his own kin and clan, whose lives were their lord's and their country's. The shops and bazaars are ornamented with festoons of flowers and branches of trees, while the costliest cloths and brocades are extended on screens, to do honour to their prince ; the *toran* (or triumphal arch) is placed before the tent, on a column of which he places one hand as he alights, and before entering makes several circumambulations. All present offer their *nazars* to the prince, the artillery fires, and the bards raise ' the song of praise,' celebrating the glories of the past ; the fame of Samra, who fell with thirteen thousand of his kin on the Ghaggar ; of Arsi and his twelve brave sons, who gave themselves as victims for the salvation of Chitor ; of Kumbha, Lakha, Sanga, Partap, Amra, Raj, all descended of the blood of Rama, whose exploits, three thousand five hundred years before, they are met to celebrate. The situation of Matachal is well calculated for such a spectacle, as indeed is the whole ground from the palace through the Delhi portal to the mount, on which is erected one of the several castles commanding the approaches to the city. The fort is dedicated to Mata, though it would not long remain stable (*achal*) before a battery of thirty-six pounders. The guns are drawn up about the termination of the slope of the natural glacis ; the Rana and his court remain on horseback [588] half up the ascent ; and while every chief or vassal is at liberty to leave his ranks, and " watch the world with noble horsemanship," there is nothing tumultuous, nothing offensive in their mirth.

The steeds purchased since the last festival are named, and as the cavalcade returns, their grooms repeat the appellations

of each as the word is passed by the master of the horse ; as Baj Raj, ' the royal steed ' ; Hayamor, ' the chief of horses ' ; Manika, ' the gem ' ; Bajra, ' the thunderbolt,' etc., etc. On returning to the palace, gifts are presented by the Rana to his chiefs. The Chauhan chief of Kotharia claims the apparel which his prince wears on this day, in token of the fidelity of his ancestor to the minor, Udai Singh, in Akbar's wars. To others, a fillet or *balaband* for the turban is presented ; but all such compliments are regulated by precedent or immediate merit.

The Toran Arch.—Thus terminates the Nauratri festival sacred to the god of war, which in every point of view is analogous to the autumnal festival of the Scythic warlike nations, when these princes took the muster of their armies, and performed the same rites to the great celestial luminary.¹ I have presented to the antiquarian reader these details, because it is in minute particulars that analogous customs are detected. Thus the temporary *toran*, or triumphal arch, erected in front of the tent at Mount Mataehala would scarcely claim the least notice, but that we discover even in this emblem the origin of the triumphal arches of antiquity, with many other rites which may be traced to the Indo-Scythic races of Asia. The *toran* in its original form consisted of two columns and an architrave, constituting the number three, sacred to Hara, the god of war. In the progress of the arts the architrave gave way to the Hindu arch, which consisted of two or more ribs without the keystone, the apex being the perpendicular junction of the archivaults ; nor is the arc of the *toran* semicircular, or any segment of a circle, but with that graceful curvature which stamps with originality one of the arches of the Normans, who may have brought it from their ancient seats on the Oxus, whence it may also have been [589] carried within the Indus. The cromlech, or trilithic altar in the centre

¹ "A la première lune de chaque année, tous ces officiers, grands et petits, tenoient une assemblée générale à la cour du Tanjou, et y faisoient un sacrifice solennel : à la cinquième lune, ils s'assembloient à Lumtching, où ils sacrifioient au ciel, à la terre, aux esprits, et aux ancêtres. Il se tenoit encore une grande assemblée à Tai-lin dans l'automne, parce qu'alors les chevaux étoient plus gras, et on y faisoit en même-tems le dénombrement des hommes et des troupeaux ; mais tous les jours le Tanjou sortoit de son camp, le matin pour adorer le soleil, et le soir la lune. Sa tente étoit placée à gauche, comme le côté le plus honorable chez ces peuples, et regardoit le couchant" (*Avant J.-C.* 209 ; *L'Histoire Générale des Huns*, vol. i. p. 24).

of all those monuments called Druidic, is most probably a *toran*, sacred to the Sun-god Belenus, like Har, or Balsiva, the god of battle, to whom as soon as a temple is raised the *toran* is erected, and many of these are exquisitely beautiful.

Gates.—An interesting essay might be written on *portes* and *torans*, their names and attributes, and the *genii* presiding as their guardians. Amongst all the nations of antiquity, the portal has had its peculiar veneration : to pass it was a privilege regarded as a mark of honour. The Jew Haman, in the true Oriental style, took post at the king's gate as an inexpugnable position. The most pompous court in Europe takes its title from its *porte*, where, as at Udaipur, all alight. The Tripolia, or triple portal, the entry to the magnificent terrace in front of the Rana's palace, consists, like the Roman arcs of triumph, of three arches, still preserving the numeral sacred to the god of battle, one of whose titles is Tripura, which may be rendered Tripoli, or lord of the three places of abode, or cities, but applied in its extensive sense to the three worlds, heaven, earth, and hell. From the Sanskrit *Pola* we have the Greek *πύλη*, a *gate*, or pass; and in the guardian or *Polia*, the *πυλωρός* or porter; while to this *langue mère* our own language is indebted, not only for its *portes* and porters, but its doors (*dwara*).¹ Pylos signified also a pass; so in Sanskrit these natural barriers are called *Palas*, and hence the poetical epithet applied to the aboriginal mountain tribes of Rajasthan, namely, Palipati and Palindra, 'lords of the pass.'²

Ganesa.—One of the most important of the Roman divinities was Janus, whence Januae, or portals, of which he was the guardian.³ A resemblance between the Ganesa of the Hindu pantheon and the Roman Janus has been pointed out by Sir W. Jones, but his analogy extended little beyond nominal similarity. The fable of the birth of Ganesa furnishes us with the origin of the worship of Janus, and as it has never been given, I shall transcribe it from the bard Chand. Ganesa is the chief of the *genii*⁴ attendant on the god of war, and was expressly formed by

¹ [There is no Skt. word *pola*, 'gate'; the Hindi *pol*, *paul* is Skt. *pura dvāra*, 'city entrance.']

² [The words *pol* and *pāl* are not connected.]

³ Hence may be found a good etymology of *janizary*, the guardian of the *serai*, a title left by the lords of Eastern Rome for the Porte. [Turkish *yeni-tsheri*, 'new soldiery.']

⁴ In Sanskrit *gana* (pronounced as *gun*), the *jinn* of the Persians, trans-

Uma, the Hindu Juno, to guard the entrance of her caverned retreat in the [590] Caucasus, where she took refuge from the tyranny of the lord of Kailasa (Olympus), whose throne is fixed amidst eternal snows on the summit of this peak of the gigantic Caucasus (*Koh-khasa*).¹

“ Strife arose between Mahadeo and the faithful Parvati : she fled to the mountains and took refuge in a cave. A crystal fountain tempted her to bathe, but shame was awakened ; she dreaded being seen. Rubbing her frame, she made an image of man ; with her nail she sprinkled it with the water of life, and placed it as guardian at the entrance of the cave.” Engrossed with the recollection of Parvati,² Siva went to Karttikeya³ for tidings of his mother, and together they searched each valley and recess, and at length reached the spot where a figure was placed at the entrance of a cavern. As the chief of the gods prepared to explore this retreat, he was stopped by the Polia. In a rage he struck off his head with his discus (*chakra*), and in the gloom discovered the object of his search. Surprised and dismayed, she demanded how he obtained ingress : “ Was there no guardian at the entrance ? ” The furious Siva replied that he had cut off his head. On hearing this, the mountain-goddess was enraged, and weeping, exclaimed, “ You have destroyed my child.” The god, determined to recall him to life, decollated a young elephant, replaced the head he had cut off, and naming him Ganesa, decreed that in every resolve his name should be the first invoked.

mutated to *genii* ; here is another instance in point of the alternation of the initial, and softened by being transplanted from Indo-Scythia to Persia, as *Ganes* was *Janus* at Rome. [*Gana* and *Jinn*, *Ganesa* and *Janus*, have no connexion.]

¹ The *Casius Mons* of Ptolemy. [The derivation of the word Caucasus is unknown.]

² Parvati, ‘ the mountain goddess,’ was called Sati, or ‘ the faithful,’ in her former birth. She became the mother of Jahnavi, the river (*Ganga*) goddess.

³ Karttikeya, the son of Siva and Parvati, the Jupiter and Juno of the Hindu theogony, has the leading of the armies of the gods, delegated by his father ; and his mother has presented to him her peacock, which is the steed of this warlike divinity. He is called Karttikeya from being nursed by six females called Krittika, who inhabit six of the seven stars composing the constellation of the Wain, or Ursa Major. Thus the Hindu Mars, born of Jupiter and Juno, and nursed by Ursa Major, is, like all other theogonies, an astronomical allegory. There is another legend of the birth of Mars, which I shall give in the text.

Invocation of the Bard to Ganesa.

“ Oh, Ganesa ! thou art a mighty lord ; thy single tusk ¹ is beautiful, and demands the tribute of praise from the Indra of song.² Thou art the chief of the human race ; the destroyer of unclean spirits ; the remover of fevers, whether daily or tertian. Thy bard sounds thy praise ; let my work be accomplished ! ”

Thus Ganesa is the chief of the *Di minores* of the Hindu pantheon, as the etymology of the word indicates,³ and like Janus, was entrusted with the gates of heaven [591] ; while of his right to preside over peace and war, the fable related affords abundant testimony. Ganesa is the first invoked and propitiated⁴ on every undertaking, whether warlike or pacific. The warrior implores his counsel ; the banker indites his name at the commencement of every letter ; the architect places his image in the foundation of every edifice ; and the figure of Ganesa is either sculptured or painted at the door of every house as a protection against evil. Our Hindu Janus is represented as four-armed, and holding the disk (*chakra*), the war-shell, the club, and the lotos. Ganesa is not, however, *bifrons*, like the Roman guardian of portals. In every transaction he is *adi*, or the first, though the Hindu does not, like the Roman, open the year with his name. I shall conclude with remarking that one of the portes of every Hindu city is named the Ganesa Pol, as well as some conspicuous entrance to the palace : thus Udaipur has its Ganesa dwara, who also gives a name to the hall, the Ganesa deori ; and his shrine will be found on the ascent of every sacred mount, as at Abu, where it is placed close to a fountain on the abrupt face about twelve hundred feet from the base. There is likewise a hill sacred to him in Mewar called Ganesa Gir, tantamount to the Mons Janiculum of the eternal city. The companion of this divinity is a rat, who indirectly receives a portion of homage, and with full as much right as the bird emblematic of Minerva.⁵

¹ This elephant-headed divinity has but one tusk.

² The bard thus modestly designates himself.

³ Chief (*isa*) of the gana (*genii*) or attendants on Siva.

⁴ So he was at Rome, and his statue held the keys of heaven in his right hand, and, like Ganesa, a rod (the *ankus*) in his left.

⁵ [The rat is the emblem of Ganesa probably because, like Apollo Smintheus, he protects the crops from vermin (Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed. Part v. vol. ii. 282 f.).]

We have abandoned the temple of the warlike divinity (Devi), the sword of Mars, and the triumphal *toran*, to invoke Ganesa. It will have been remarked that the Rana aids himself to dismount by placing his hand on one of the columns of the *toran*, an act which is pregnant with a martial allusion, as are indeed the entire ceremonials of the "worship of the sword."

Analogies to Western Customs. Oaths by the Sword.—It might be deemed folly to trace the rites and superstitions of so remote an age and nation to Central Asia; but when we find the superstitions of the Indo-Scythic Getae prevailing within the Indus, in Dacia, and on the shores of the Baltic, we may assume their common origin; for although the worship of arms has prevailed among all warlike tribes, there is a peculiar respect paid to the sword amongst the Getic races. The Greeks and Romans paid devotion to their arms, and swore by them. The Greeks brought their habits from ancient Thrace, where the custom existed of presenting as the greatest gift that peculiar kind of sword called *acinaces*,¹ which we dare not derive from the Indo-Scythic or Sanskrit *asi*, a [592] sword. When Xenophon,² on his retreat, reached the court of Seuthes, he agreed to attach his corps to the service of the Thracian. His officers on introduction, in the true Oriental style, presented their *nazars*, or gifts of homage, excepting Xenophon, who, deeming himself too exalted to make the common offering, presented his sword, probably only to be touched in recognition of his services being accepted. The most powerful oath of the Rajput, next to his sovereign's throne (*gaddi ka an*), is by his arms, *ya silah ka an*, 'by this weapon!' as, suiting the action to the word, he puts his hand on his dagger, never absent from his girdle. *Dhal, tarwar, ka an*, 'by my sword and shield!' The shield is deemed the only fit vessel or salver on which to present gifts; and accordingly at a Rajput court, shawls, brocades, scarfs, and jewels are always spread before the guest on bucklers.³

In the Runic "incantation of Hervor," daughter of Angantýr, at the tomb of her father, she invokes the dead to deliver the enchanted brand Tyrting, or "Hjalmr's bane," which, according

¹ [Persian *āhanak*, 'a sword of steel.']

² [*Anabasis*, vii. 2.]

³ The Gothic invaders of Italy inaugurated their monarch by placing him upon a shield, and elevating him on their shoulders in the midst of his army.

to Getic custom, was buried in his tomb ; she adjures him and his brothers “ by all their arms, their shields, etc.” It is depicted with great force, and, translated, would deeply interest a Rajput, who might deem it the spell by which the *Khanda* of Hamira, which he annually worships, was obtained.

INCANTATION

Hervor—“ Awake, Angantýr ! Hervor, the only daughter of thee and Suafu, doth awaken thee. Give me out of the tomb the tempered sword which the dwarfs made for Suafurlama.

“ Can none of Eyvors’ ¹ sons speak with me out of the habitations of the dead ? Hervardur, ¹ Hurvardur ? ” ¹

The tomb at length opens, the inside of which appears on fire, and a reply is sung within :

Angantýr—“ Daughter Hervor, full of spells to raise the dead, why dost thou call so ? I was not buried either by father or friends ; two who lived after me got Tyrſing, one of whom is now in possession thereof [593].”

Hervor—“ The dead shall never enjoy rest unless Angantýr deliver me Tyrſing, that cleaveth shields, and killed Hjalmr.” ²

Angantýr—“ Young maid, thou art of manlike courage, who dost rove by night to tombs, with spear engraven with magic spells, ³ with helm and coat of mail, before the door of our hall.”

Hervor—“ It is not good for thee to hide it.”

Angantýr—“ The death of Hjalmr ⁴ lies under my shoulders ; it is all wrapt up in fire : I know no maid that dares to take this sword in hand.”

Hervor—“ I shall take in hand the sharp sword, if I may

¹ All these proper names might have Oriental etymologies assigned to them ; Eyvor-sail is the name of a celebrated Rajput hero of the Bhatti tribe, who were driven at an early period from the very heart of Scythia, and are of Yadu race.

² This word can have a Sanskrit derivation from *haya*, ‘ a horse ’ ; *marna*, ‘ to strike or kill ’ ; *Hjalmr*, ‘ the horse-slayer.’ [These theories are of no value.]

³ The custom of engraving incantations on weapons is also from the East, and thence adopted by the Muhammadan, as well as the use of phylacteries. The name of the goddess guarding the tribe is often inscribed, and I have had an entire copy of the Bhagavadgita taken from the turban of a Rajput killed in action : in like manner the Muhammadans place therein the Koran.

⁴ The metaphorical name of the sword Tyrſing.

obtain it. I do not think that fire will burn which plays about the site of deceased men.”¹

Angantýr.—“Take and keep Hjalmr’s bane: touch but the edges of it, there is poison in them both;”² it is a most cruel devourer of men.”³

The Magic Sword of Mewār.—Tradition has hallowed the two-edged sword (*khanda*) of Mewar, by investing it with an origin as mysterious as “the bane of Hjalmr.” It is supposed to be the enchanted weapon fabricated by Viswakarma,⁴ with which the Hindu Proserpine girded the founder of the race, and led him forth to the conquest of Chitor.⁵ It remained the great heirloom of her princes till the sack of Chitor by the Tatar Ala, when Rana Arsi and eleven of his brave sons devoted themselves at the command of the guardian goddess of their race, and their capital falling into the hands of the invader, the last scion of Bappa became a fugitive amidst the mountains of the west. It was then the Tatar inducted the Sonigira Maldeo [594], as his lieutenant, into the capital of the Guhilots. The most celebrated of the poetic chronicles of Mewar gives an elaborate description of the subterranean palace in Chitor, in one of whose entrances the dreadful sacrifice was perpetuated to save the honour of Padmini and the fair of Chitor from the brutalized Tatars.⁶ The curiosity of Maldeo was more powerful than his superstition, and he determined to explore these hidden abodes, though reputed to be guarded by the serpent genii attendant on Nagnaicha, the

¹ I have already mentioned these fires (see p. 89), which the northern nations believed to issue from the tombs of their heroes, and which seemed to guard their ashes; them they called *Hauga Elldr*, or ‘the sepulchral fires,’ and they were supposed more especially to surround tombs which contained hidden treasures. These supernatural fires are termed *Shihaba* by the Rajputs. When the intrepid Scandinavian maiden observes that she is not afraid of the flame burning her, she is bolder than one of the boldest Rajputs, for Sri-kishan, who was shocked at the bare idea of going near these sepulchral lights, was one of the three non-commissioned officers who afterwards led thirty-two firelocks to the attack and defeat of 1500 Pindaris.

² Like the Rajput *Khanda*, *Tyrfin* was double-edged; the poison of these edges is a truly Oriental idea.

³ This poem is from the *Hervarar Saga*, an ancient Icelandic history. See *Edda*, vol. ii. p. 192.

⁴ The Vulcan of the Hindus.

⁵ For an account of the initiation to arms of Bappa, the founder of the Guhilots, see p. 264 [Vol. I.].

⁶ See p. 311 [Vol. I.].

ancient divinity of its Takshak founders.¹ Whether it was through the identical caverned passage, and over the ashes of those martyred Kaminis,² that he made good his way into those rock-bound abodes, the legend says not ; but though

In darkness, and with dangers compassed round,
And solitude,

the intrepid Maldeo paused not until he had penetrated to the very bounds of the abyss, where in a recess he beheld the snaky sorceress and her sister crew seated round a cauldron, in which the materials of their incantation were solving before a fire that served to illumine this abode of horror. As he paused, the reverberation of his footsteps caused the infernal crew to look athwart the palpable obscure of their abode, and beholding the audacious mortal, they demanded his intent. The valiant Sonigira replied that he did not come as a spy,

With purpose to explore or to disturb
The secrets of their realm,

but in search of the enchanted brand of the founder of the Guhilots. Soon they made proof of Maldeo's hardihood. Uncovering the cauldron, he beheld a sight most appalling : amidst divers fragments of animals was the arm of an infant. A dish of this horrid repast was placed before him, and a silent signal made for him to eat. He obeyed, and returned the empty platter : it was proof sufficient of his worth to wear the enchanted blade, which, drawn forth from its secret abode, was put into the hand of Maldeo, who bowing, retired with the trophy [595].

Rana Hamira recovered this heirloom of his house, and with it the throne of Chitor, by his marriage with the daughter of the

¹ The Mori prince, from whom Bappa took Chitor, was of the Tak or Takshak race [?], of whom Nagnaicha or Nagini Mata was the mother, represented as half woman and half serpent ; the sister of the mother of the Scythic race, according to their legends ; so that the deeper we dive into these traditions, the stronger reason we shall find to assign a Scythic origin to all these tribes. As Bappa, the founder of the Guhilots, retired into Scythia and left his heirs to rule in India, I shall find fault with no antiquary who will throw overboard all the connexion between Kanaksen, the founder of the Valabhi empire, and Sumitra, the last of Rama's line. Many rites of the Rama's house are decidedly Scythic.

² [Lovely maidens.]

Sonigira, as related in the annals.¹ Another version says it was Hamira himself who obtained the enchanted sword, by his incantations to Charani Devi, or the goddess of the bards, whom he worshipped.

The Birth of Kumāra.—We shall conclude this account of the military festival of Mewar with the birth of Kumara, the god of war, taken from the most celebrated of their mythological poems, the Ramayana, probably the most ancient book in the world.² “Mena, daughter of Meru, became the spouse of Himavat, from whose union sprung the beauteous Ganga, and her sister Uma. Ganga was sought in marriage by all the celestials; while Uma, after a long life of austerity, was espoused by Rudra.”³ But neither sister was fortunate enough to have offspring, until Ganga became pregnant by Hutāsana (regent of fire), and “Kumara, resplendent as the sun, illustrious as the moon, was produced from the side of Ganga.” The gods, with Indra at their head, carried him to the Krittikas⁴ to be nursed, and he became their joint care. “As he resembled the fire in brightness, he received the name of Skanda, when the immortals, with Agni (fire) at their head, anointed him as general of the armies of the gods.”⁵—“Thus (the bard Valmiki speaks), oh! Rama, have I related the story of the production of Kumar.”

¹ See p. 317 [Vol. I.].

² [“The kernel of the Rāmāyana was composed before 500 B.C., while the more recent portions was probably not added till the second century B.C., and later” (Macdonell, *Hist. Sanskrit Literature*, 309).]

³ One of the names of the divinity of war, whose images are covered with vermilion in imitation of blood. (*Qy.* the German *roodur*, ‘red’) [596]. [Rudra, ‘the roarer,’ originally “god of storms.”]

⁴ The Pleiades.

⁵ The festival of the birth of this son of Ganga, or Jahnavi, is on the 10th of Jeth. Sir W. Jones gives the following couplet from the Sancha: “On the 10th of Jyaishtha, on the bright half of the month, on the day of Mangala,* son of the earth, when the moon was in Hasta, this daughter of Jahnu brought from the rocks, and ploughed over the land inhabited by mortals.”

* Mangala is one of the names (and perhaps one of the oldest) of the Hindu Mars (Kumara), to whom the Wodens-day of the Northmen, the Mardi of the French, the Dies Martis of the Romans, are alike sacred. Mangala also means ‘happy,’ the reverse of the origin of Mongol, said to mean ‘sad’ [‘brave’]. The juxtaposition of the Rajput and Scandinavian days of the week will show that they have the same origin:

This is a very curious relic of ancient mythology, in which we may trace the most material circumstances of the birth of the Roman divinity of war. Kumara (Mars) was the son of Jahnavi (Juno), and born, like the Romans, without sexual intercourse, but by the agency of Vulcan (regent of fire). Kumara has the peacock (sacred to Juno likewise) as his companion; and as the Grecian goddess is feigned to have her car drawn by peacocks, so Kumara (the evil-striker) ¹ has a peacock for his steed [596].

Ganga, 'the river goddess,' has some of the attributes of Pallas, being like the Athenian maid (Ganga never married) born from the head of Jove. The bard of the silver age makes her fall from a glacier of Kailasa (Olympus) on the head of the father of the gods, and remain many years within the folds of his tiara (*jata*), until at length being liberated, she was precipitated into the plains of Aryavarta. It was in this escape that she burst her rocky barrier (the Himalaya), and on the birth of Kumara exposed those veins of gold called *jambunadi*, in colour like the jambu fruit, probably alluding to the veins of gold discovered in the rocks of the Ganges in those distant ages.

The Winter Season.—The last day of the month Asoj ushers in the Hindu winter (*sarad rit*). On this day, nothing but white vestments and silver (*chandi*) ornaments are worn, in honour of the moon (Chandra), who gives his ² name to the

Pale and common drudge
"Tween man and man.

¹ [Kumāra probably means 'easily dying.']

² It will be recollected that the moon with the Rajputs as with the Scandinavians is a male divinity. The Tatars, who also consider him a male divinity, pay him especial adoration in this autumnal month.

Rajput.	Scandinavian and Saxon.	Rajput.	Scandinavian and Saxon.
Suryavar. . .	Sun-day.	Brihaspativar (a) .	Thors-day.
Som, or Induvar . .	Moon-day.	Sukravar (b) . .	Frey-day.
Budhvar. . .	Tuis-day.	Sani, or } -var .	Satur-day (c)
Mangalvar . .	Wodens-day.	Sanichara }	

(a) Brihaspati, 'he who rides on the bull'; the steed of the Rajput god of war [probably 'lord of prayer,' or 'of increase,' confounded in the original note with Vrishapati, 'Lord of the bull,' a title of Siva.]

(b) Sukra is a Cyclop, regent of the planet Venus.

(c) [See Max Muller, *Selected Essays*, 1881, ii. 460 ff.]

This year there was an entire intercalary month : such are called *Laund*. There is a procession of all the chiefs to the Chaugan ; and on their return, a full court is held in the great hall, which breaks up with ' obeisance to the lamp ' (*jot ka mujra*), whose light each reverences ; when the candles are lit at home, every Rajput, from the prince to the owner of a " skin (*charsa*) of land," seated on a white linen cloth, should worship his tutelary divinity, and feed the priests with sugar and milk.

Karttika.—This month is peculiarly sacred to Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, the Juno Moneta of the Romans. The 13th is called the Dhanteras, or thirteenth [day] of wealth, when gold and silver coin are worshipped, as the representatives of the goddess, by her votaries of all classes, but especially by the mercantile [597]. On the 14th, all anoint with oil, and make libations thereof to Yama, the judge of departed spirits. Worship (*puja*) is performed to the lamp, which represents the god of hell, and is thence called Yamadiwa, ' the lamp of Pluto ' ; and on this day partial illumination takes place throughout the city.

The Diwāli, or Festival of Lamps.—On the Amavas, or Ides of Karttik, is one of the most brilliant fêtes of Rajasthan, called the Diwali, when every city, village, and encampment exhibits a blaze of splendour. The potters' wheels revolve for weeks before solely in the manufacture of lamps (*diwa*), and from the palace to the peasant's hut every one supplies himself with them, in proportion to his means, and arranges them according to his fancy. Stuffs, pieces of gold, and sweetmeats are carried in trays and consecrated at the temple of Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, to whom the day is consecrated. The Rana on this occasion honours his prime minister with his presence to dinner ; and this chief officer of the State, who is always of the mercantile caste, pours oil into a terra-cotta lamp, which his sovereign holds ; the same libation of oil is permitted by each of the near relations of the minister. On this day, it is incumbent upon every votary of Lakshmi to try the chance of the dice, and from their success in the Diwali, the prince, the chief, the merchant, and the artisan foretell the state of their coffers for the ensuing year.

Lakshmi, though on this festival depicted under the type of riches, is evidently the beneficent Annapurna in another garb,

for the agricultural community place a corn-measure filled with grain and adorned with flowers as her representative ; or, if they adorn her effigies, they are those of Padma, the water-nymph, with a lotos in one hand, and the *pasa* (or fillet for the head) in the other. As Lakshmi was produced at "the Churning of the Ocean," and hence called one of the "fourteen gems," she is confounded with Rambha, chief of the Apsaras, the Venus of the Hindus. Though both were created from the froth (*sara*) of the waters (*ap*),¹ they are as distinct as the representations of riches and beauty can be. Lakshmi became the wife of Vishnu, or Kanhaiya, and is placed at the feet of his marine couch when he is floating on the chaotic waters. As his consort, she merges into the character of Sarasvati, the goddess of eloquence, and here we have the combination of Minerva and Apollo. As of Minerva, the owl [598] is the attendant of Lakshmi ;² and when we reflect that the Egyptians, who furnished the Grecian pantheon, held these solemn festivals, also called "the feast of lamps," in honour of Minerva at Sais, we may deduce the origin of this grand Oriental festival from that common mother-country in Central Asia, whence the Diwali radiated to remote China, the Nile, the Ganges, and the shores of the Tigris ; for the Shab-i-barat of Islam is but "the feast of lamps" of the Rajputs. In all these there is a mixture of the attributes of Ceres and Proserpine, of Plutus and Pluto. Lakshmi partakes of the attributes of both the first, while Kuvera,³ who is conjoined with her, is Plutus : as Yama is Pluto, the infernal judge. The consecrated lamps and the libations of oil are all dedicated to him ; and "torches and flaming brands are likewise kindled and consecrated, to burn the bodies of kinsmen who may be dead in battle in a foreign land, and light them through the shades of death to the mansion of Yama."⁴

Festival of Yama.—To the infernal god Yama, who is "the son of the sun," the second day following the Amavas, or Ides of Karttika, is also sacred ; it is called the Bhratri dvitiya, or 'the brothers' second,' because the river-goddess Yamuna on this day

¹ [Apsaras means 'going in the waters, or in the waters of the clouds.']

² [The owl is a bird of ill omen, and does not seem to be associated with Lakshmi except in Bengal.]

³ The Hindu god of riches.

⁴ Yamala is the great god of the Finlanders (Clarke).

entertained her brother (*bhratri*) Yama, and is therefore consecrated to fraternal affection. At the hour of curfew (*godhuli*),¹ when the cattle return from the fields, the cow is worshipped, the herd having been previously tended. From this ceremony no rank is exempted on the preceding day, dedicated to Krishna : prince and peasant all become pastoral attendants on the cow, as the form of Prithivi,² or the earth.

The Annakūta Festival.—The 1st (Sudi), or 16th of Karttika, is the grand festival of Annakuta, sacred to the Hindu Ceres, which will be described with its solemnities at Nathdwara. There is a State procession, horse-races, and elephant-fights at the Chaugan ; the evening closes with a display of fireworks.

The Jaljātra Festival.—The 14th (Sudi), or 29th, is another solemn festival in honour of Vishnu. It is called the Jaljatra, from being performed on the water (*jal*). The Rana, chiefs, ministers, and citizens go in procession to the lake, and adore the “spirit of the waters,” on which floating lights are placed, and the whole surface is illuminated by a grand display of pyrotechny. On this day “Vishnu rises from his slumber of four [599] months” ;³ a figurative expression to denote the sun’s emerging from the cloudy months of the periodical flood.

The Makara Sankrānti Festival.—The next day (the Punim, or last day of Karttika), being the Makara sankranti, or autumnal equinox, when the sun enters the zodiacal sign Makara,⁴ or Pisces, the Rana and chiefs proceed in state to the Chaugan, and play at ball on horseback. The entire last half of the month Karttika, from Amavas (the Ides) to the Punim, is sacred to Vishnu ; who is declared by the Puranas to represent the sun, and whose worship, that of water, and the floating-lights placed thereon—all objects emblematic of fecundity—carry us back to the point whence we started—the adoration of the powers of nature : clearly proving all mythology to be universally founded on an astronomical basis.

¹ From *go*, ‘a cow’ [*dhūli*, ‘the dust raised by them as they return to the stall’].

² See anecdote in Chap. 21, which elucidates this practice of princes becoming herdsmen.

³ Matsya Purana. [Vishnu is generally said to wake on the Deothān, 11th light half of Kārttik.]

⁴ [Makara, a kind of shark or sea-monster, marks the 10th sign of the Zodiac, Capricorn.]

Mitra Saptami, Bhāskara Saptami Festivals.—In the remaining months of Aghan, or Margsir, and Pus, there are no festivals in which a state procession takes place, though in each there are marked days, kept not only by the Rajputs, but generally by the Hindu nation; especially that on the 7th of Aghan, which is called Mitra Saptami, or 7th of Mithras, and like the Bhas-kara Saptami or the 7th of Magha, is sacred to the sun as a form of Vishnu. On this seventh day occurred the descent of the river-goddess (Ganga) from the foot of Vishnu; or the genius of fertilization, typified under the form of the river-goddess, proceeding from the sun, the vivifying principle, and impended over the head of Iswara, the divinity presiding over generation, in imitation of which his votary pours libations of water (if possible from the sacred river Ganga) over his emblem, the lingam or phallus: a comparison which is made by the bard Chand in an invocation to this god, for the sake of contrasting his own inferiority “to the mighty bards of old.”

“The head of Is¹ is in the skies; on his crown falls the ever-flowing stream (Ganga); but on his statue below, does not his votary pour the fluid from his *patra*?”

Phallicism.—No satisfactory etymology has ever been assigned for the phallic emblem of generation, adored by Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and even by the Christian, which may be from the same primeval language that formed the Sanskrit.

Phalisa is the ‘fructifier,’ from *phala*, ‘fruit,’ and *Isa*, ‘the god.’² Thus the type of Osiris can have a definite interpretation, still wanting to the lingam of Iswara [600]. Both deities presided over the streams which fertilized the countries in which they received divine honours: Osiris over the Nile, from ‘the mountains of the moon,’ in Ethiopia,³ Iswara over the Indus⁴ (also called the Nil), and the Ganges from Chandragiri, ‘the mountains of the moon,’ on a peak of whose glaciers he has his throne.

¹ Iswara, Isa, or as pronounced, Is.

² [Monier-Williams in his *Sanskrit Dict.* records no such form as *phalisa*. φαλλός = Lat. *palus*, English *pole*, *pale*. The Author follows Wilford (*Asiatic Researches*, iii. 135 f.).]

³ ‘The land of the sun’ (*aditya*). [This is impossible. The true derivation is unknown; to the Greeks the word meant ‘swarthy-faced.’]

⁴ Ferishta calls the Indus the Nilab, or ‘blue waters’; it is also called Abusin, the ‘father of streams.’

Siva and the Sun.—Siva occasionally assumes the attributes of the sun-god ; they especially appertain to Vishnu, who alone is styled “ immortal, the one, creator, and uncreated ” ; and in whom centre all the qualities (*gunan*), which have peopled the Hindu pantheon with their ideal representatives. The bard Chand, who has embodied the theological tenets of the Rajputs in his prefatory invocation to every divinity who can aid his intent, apostrophizes Ganesa, and summons the goddess of eloquence (Sarasvati) “ to make his tongue her abode ” ; deprecates the destroying power, “ him whom wrath inhabits,” lest he should be cut off ere his book was finished ; and lauding distinctly each member of the triad (*trimurti*), he finishes by declaring them one, and that “ whoever believes them separate, hell will be his portion.” Of this One the sun is the great visible type, adored under a variety of names, as Surya, Mitra, Bhaskar, Vivasvat, Vishnu, Karna, or Kana, likewise an Egyptian epithet for the sun.¹

The emblem of Vishnu is Garuda, or the eagle,² and the Sun-god both of the Egyptians and Hindus is typified with the bird’s head. Aruna (the dawn), brother of Garuda, is classically styled the charioteer of Vishnu, whose two sons, Sampati and Jatayu, attempting in imitation of their father to reach the sun, the wings of the former were burnt and he fell to the earth : of this the Greeks may have made their fable of Icarus.³

Festivals in Honour of Vishnu.—In the chief zodiacal phenomena, observation will discover that Vishnu is still the object of worship. The Phuladola,⁴ or Floralia, in the vernal equinox, is so called from the image of Vishnu being carried in a *dola*, or ark, covered with garlands of flowers (*phula*). Again, in the month of Asarh, the commencement of [601] the periodical rains, which

¹ According to Diodorus Siculus. [Rudra-Siva has a benign side to his character, and may be associated with the Sun (R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Systems*, 105). But the Author, in his constant references to “ Bâl ”-Siva, has pressed this conception to an excessive length.]

² The vulture and crane, which soar high in the heavens, are also called *garuda*, and vulgarly *gidh*. The ibis is of the crane or heron kind.

³ Phaeton was the son of Cephalus and Aurora. The former answers to the Hindu bird-headed messenger of the sun. Aruna is the Aurora of the Greeks, who with more taste have given the dawn a female character.

⁴ Also called Dôlayatra.

date from the summer solstice, the image of Vishnu is carried on a car, and brought forth on the first appearance of the moon, the 11th of which being the solstice, is called "the night of the gods." Then Vishnu reposes on his serpent-couch until the cessation of the flood on the 11th of Bhādon, when "he turns on his side."¹

The 4th is also dedicated to Vishnu under his infantine appellation Hari ("Ἠλιος), because when a child "he hid himself in the moon." We must not derogate from Sir W. Jones the merit of drawing attention to the analogy between these Hindu festivals on the equinoxes, and the Egyptian, called the entrance of Osiris into the moon, and his confinement in an ark. But that distinguished writer merely gives the hint, which the learned Bryant aids us to pursue, by bringing modern travellers to corroborate the ancient authorities: the drawings of Pocock from the sun temple of Luxor to illustrate Plutarch, Curtius, and Diodorus. Bryant comes to the same conclusion with regard to Osiris enclosed in the ark, which we adopt regarding Vishnu's repose during the four months of inundation, the period of fertilization. I have already, in the rites of Annapurna, the Isis of the Egyptians, noticed the crescent form of the ark of Osiris, as well as the ram's-head ornaments indicative of the vernal equinox, which the Egyptians called Phamenoth, being the birthday of Osiris, or the sun; the Phag, or Phalgun month of the Hindus; the Phagesia of the Greeks, sacred to Dionysus.²

The Argonauts.—The expedition of Argonauts in search of the golden fleece is a version of the arkite worship of Osiris, the Dolayatra of the Hindus: and Sanskrit etymology, applied to the vessel of the Argonauts, will give the sun (*argha*) god's (*natha*) entrance into the sign of the Ram. The Tauric and Hydra foes, with which Jason had to contend before he obtained the fleece of Aries, are the symbols of the sun-god, both of the Ganges and the Nile; and this fable, which has occupied almost every pen of antiquity, is clearly astronomical, as the names alone of the

¹ Bhagavat and Matsya Puranas. See Sir W. Jones on the lunar year of the Hindus, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. iii. p. 286.

² [Mr. F. Ll. Griffith tells me that this comes from a French translation of Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, cap. xii. (birth of Osiris on the first of the epagomenal days). This entry of Osiris into the moon seems to mean his conception rather than his birth. Φαμενώθ is the name of the seventh month, about 25th February.]

Arghanath, sons of Apollo, Mars, Mercury, Sol, Arcus or Argus,¹ Jupiter, Bacchus, etc., sufficiently testify, whose voyage is entirely celestial.

Egyptian Influence on Hindu Mythology.—If it be destined that any portion of the veil which covers these ancient mysteries [602], connecting those of the Ganges with the Nile, shall be removed, it will be from the interpretation of the expedition of Rama, hitherto deemed almost as allegorical as that of the Arghanaths. I shall at once assume an opinion I have long entertained, that the western coast of the Red Sea was the Lanka of the memorable exploit in the history of the Hindus. If Alexander from the mouths of the Indus ventured to navigate those seas with his frail fleet of barks constructed in the Panjab, what might we not expect from the resources of the King of Kosala, the descendant of Sagara, emphatically called the sea-king, whose “60,000 sons” were so many mariners, and who has left his name as a memorial of his marine power at the island (*Sagar*) at the embouchure of the main arm of the Ganges, and to the ocean itself, also called Sagara? If the embarkation of Ramesa and his heroes for the redemption of Sita had been from the Gulph of Cutch, the grand emporium from the earliest ages, the voyage of Rama would have been but the prototype of that of the Macedonians; but local tradition has sanctified Rameswaram, the southern part of the peninsula, as the rendezvous of his armament. The currents in the Straits of Manar, curiosity, or a wish to obtain auxiliaries from this insular kingdom, may have prompted the visit to Ceylon; and hence the vestiges there found of this event. But even from this “utmost isle, Taprobane,” the voyage across the Erythrean Sea is only twenty-five degrees of longitude, which with a flowing sail they would run down in ten or twelve days. The only difficulty which occurs is in the synchronical existence of Rama and the Pharaoh² of Moses, which would tend to the opposite of my hypothesis, and show that India received her Phallic rites, her architecture, and symbolic mythology from the Nile, instead of planting them there.

“Est-ce l’Inde, la Phénicie, l’Éthiopie, la Chaldée, ou l’Égypte,

¹ *Arka*, ‘the sun,’ in Sanskrit. [This is due to Wilford (*Asiatic Researches*, iii. 134) and is, of course, impossible.]

² *Pha-ra* is but a title, ‘the king.’ [Egyptian *Pro*, ‘the great house.’]

qui a vu naître ce culte ? ou bien le type en a-t-il été fourni aux habitans de ces contrées, par une nation plus ancienne encore ? ” asks an ingenious but anonymous French author, on the origin of the Phallic worship.¹ Ramesa, chief of the Suryas, or sun-born race, was king of the city designated from his mother, Kausalya, of which Ayodhya was the capital. His sons were Lava and Kusa, who originated the races we may term the Lavites and Kushites, or Kushwas of India.² Was then Kausalya [603] the mother of Ramesa, a native of Aethiopia,³ or Kusadwipa, ‘ the land of Cush ’ ? Rama and Krishna are both painted blue (*nila*), holding the lotus, emblematic of the Nile. Their names are often identified. Ram-Krishna, the bird-headed divinity, is painted as the messenger of each, and the historians of both were contemporaries. That both were real princes there is no doubt, though Krishna assumed to be an incarnation of Vishnu, as Rama was of the sun. Of Rama’s family was Trisankha,⁴ mother of the great apostle of Buddha, whose symbol was the serpent ; and the followers of Buddha assert that Krishna and this apostle, whose statues are facsimiles of those of Memnon, were cousins. Were the Hermetic creed and Phallic rites therefore received from the Ethiopic Cush ? Could emblematic relics be discovered in the caves of the Troglodytes, who inhabited the range of mountains on the Cushite shore of the Arabian straits, akin to those of Ellora and Elephanta,⁵ whose style discloses physical, mythological, as well as architectural affinity to the Egyptian, the question would at once be set at rest.

I have derived the Phallus from Phalisa, the chief fruit. The Greeks, who either borrowed it from the Egyptians or had it from the same source, typified the Fructifier by a pineapple, the

¹ *Des divinités génératives : ou du culte du Phallus chez les anciens et les modernes* (Paris).

² Of the former race the Ranas of Mewar, of the latter the princes of Narwar and Amber, are the representatives.

³ Aethiopia, ‘ the country of the sun ’ ; from *Ait*, contraction of Aditya. Aegypt may have the same etymology, *Aitia* [see p. 699 above].

⁴ [The Author may refer to Pārsvanātha, 23rd Jain Tīrthakara, whose symbol was his serpent ; but his mother was Vāmādevi. Trisala was mother of the 24th Tīrthakara, Mahāvira or Vardhamāna, but his cognizance was a lion.]

⁵ It is absurd to talk of these being modern ; decipher the characters thereon, and then pronounce their antiquity. [Ellora, 5th to 9th or 10th centuries A.D. ; Elephanta, 8th to 10th (*IGI*, xii. 22, 4).]

form of which resembles the Sitaphala,¹ or fruit of Sita, whose rape by Ravana carried Rama from the Ganges over many countries ere he recovered her.² In like manner Gauri, the Rajput Ceres, is typified under the coco-nut, or sriphala,³ the chief of fruit, or fruit sacred to Sri, or Isa (Isis), whose other elegant emblem of abundance, the kamakumbha, is drawn with branches of the palmyra,⁴ or coco-tree, gracefully pendent from the vase (*kumbha*).

The Sriphala⁵ is accordingly presented to all the votaries of Iswara and Isa on the conclusion of the spring-festival of Phalguna, the Phagesia of the Greeks, the [604] Phamenoth of the Egyptian, and the Saturnalia of antiquity; a rejoicing at the renovation of the powers of nature; the empire of heat over cold—of light over darkness.⁶

¹ Vulg. *Sharifa*.

² Rama subjected her to the fiery ordeal, to discover whether her virtue had suffered while thus forcibly separated.

³ Vulg. *Nariyal*.

⁴ Palmyra is Sanskrit corrupted, and affords the etymology of Solomon's city of the desert, 'Tadmor.' The ط p, by the retrenchment of a single diacritical point, becomes ت t; and the ل (l) and د (d) being permutable, Pal becomes Tad, or Tal—the Palmyra, which is the Mor, or chief of trees; hence Tadmor, from its date-trees [?].

⁵ The Jayaphala, 'the fruit of victory,' is the nutmeg; or, as a native of Java, Javuphala, 'fruit of Java,' is most probably derived from Jayadiva, 'the victorious isle.' [The nutmeg is Jātiphala: Java is *yavadwīpa*, 'island of barley.']

⁶ The Kamari of the Saura tribes, or sun-worshippers of Saurashtra, claims descent from the bird-god of Vishnu (who aided Rama * to the discovery of Sita), and the Makara † or crocodile, and date the monstrous conception from that event, and their original abode from Sankodra Bet, or island of Sankodra. Whether to the Dioscorides at the entrance of the Arabian Gulf this name was given, evidently corrupted from Sankhadwara to Socotra, we shall not stop to inquire. Like the isle in the entrance of the Gulf of Cutch, it is the *dwara* or portal to the Sinus Arabicus, and the pearl-shell (*sankha*) there abounds. This tribe deduce their origin from Rama's expedition, and allege that their Icthyiopic mother landed them where they still reside. Wild as is this fable, it adds support to this hypothesis. [The Sanskrit name of Bet Island ("Bate" in the text) is Sankhuddhāra, from the conch fishery. Socotra is Dwīpa Sukhadāra, 'island of pleasure' (not Sakhādāra, as in *EB*, xxv. 355) (Yule, *Marco Polo*, 1st ed. ii. 342).]

* Rama and Vishnu interchange characters.

† It is curious that the designation of the tribe Kamar is a transposition of Makar, for the final letter of each is mute.

The analogy between the goddess of the spring Saturnalia, Phalguni, and the Phagesia of the Greeks, will excite surprise ; the word is not derived from (*φαγείν*) eating, with the Rajput votaries of Holika, as with those of the Dionysia of the Greeks ; but from *phalguni*, compounded of *guna*, 'quality, virtue, or characteristic,' and *phala*, 'fruit' ; in short, the fructifier. From *φαλλός*,¹ to which there is no definite meaning, the Egyptian had the festival Phallica, the Holika of the Hindus. *Phula* and *phala*, flower and fruit, are the roots of all, Floralia and Phalaria, the Phallus of Osiris, the Thyrsus of Bacchus, or Lingam of Iswara, symbolized by the *Sriphala*, or *Ananas*, the 'food of the gods,'² or the Sitaphala of the Helen of Ayodhya.

From the existence of this worship in Congo at this day, the author already quoted asks if it may not have originated in Ethiopia, "qui, comme le témoignent plusieurs écrivains de l'antiquité, a fourni ses dieux à l'Égypte." On the first of the five complementary days called "*ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμέραι*" preceding New Year's Day, the Egyptians celebrated the birth of the sun-god Osiris, in a similar manner as the Hindus do their solstitial festival, "the morning of the gods," the Hiul of Scandinavia ; on which occasion, "on promenait en procession une figure d'Osiris, dont le Phallus était triple" ; a number, he adds, expressing "la pluralité indéfinie." The number three is sacred to Iswara, chief of the Trimurti or Triad, whose statue adorns the junction (*sangam*) of all triple streams ; hence called Triveni, who is [605] Trinetra, or 'three-eyed,' and Tridanta, or 'god of the trident' ; Triloka, 'god of the triple abode, heaven, earth, and hell' ; Tripura, of the triple city, to whom the Tripoli or triple gates are sacred, and of which he has made Ganesa the Janitor, or guardian. The grotesque figure placed by the Hindus during the Saturnalia in the highways, and called Nathurama

¹ See Lempriere, arts. *Phagesia* and *Phallica*. "L'Abbé Mignot pense que le *Phallus* est originaire de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée, et que c'est de ce pays que l'usage de consacrer ce symbole de la génération a passé en Égypte. Il croit, d'après le savant Le Clerc, que le nom de ce symbole est phénicien : qu'il dérive de *Phalou* qui, dans cette langue, signifie une chose secrète et cachée, et du verbe *phala*, qui veut dire être tenu secret." *

² *Anna*, 'food,' and *asa* or *isa*, 'the god.' [*Ananas* comes from Brazilian *Nana* or *Nanas* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed. 25).]

(the god Rama), is the counterpart of the figure described by Plutarch as representing Osiris, "ce soleil printanier," in the Egyptian Saturnalia or Phamenoth. Even Ramisa and Ravana may, like Osiris and Typhon, be merely the ideal representatives of light and darkness ; and the chaste Sita, spouse of the Surya prince, the astronomical Virgo, only a zodiacal sign.¹

Wide Extension of Hindu Mythology.—That a system of Hinduism pervaded the whole Babylonian and Assyrian empires, Scripture furnishes abundant proofs, in the mention of the various types of the sun-god Balnath, whose pillar adorned "every mount" and "every grove" ; and to whose other representative, the brazen calf (*nandi*), the 15th of each month (*amavas*)² was especially sacred. It was not confined to these celebrated regions of the East, but was disseminated throughout the earth ; because from the Aral to the Baltic, colonies were planted from that central region,³ the cradle of the Suryas and the Indus, whose branches (*sakha*),⁴ the Yavan, the Aswa, and the Meda, were the progenitors of the Ionians, the Assyrians, and the Medes ;⁵ while in later times, from the same teeming region, the Galati and Getae,⁶ the Kelts and Goths, carried modifications of the system to the shores of Armorica and the Baltic, the cliffs of Caledonia, and the remote isles of the German Ocean. The monumental circles sacred to the sun-god Belenus at once existing in that central region,⁷ in India,⁸ and throughout Europe, is

¹ [It is unnecessary to discuss these theories, which are based on incorrect assumptions and obsolete etymologies.]

² The Hindus divide the month into two portions called *pakh* or fortnights. The first is termed *badi*, reckoning from the 1st to the 15th, which day of partition is called *amavās*, answering to the Ides of the Romans, and held by the Hindus as it was by the Jews in great sanctity. The last division is termed *sudi*, and they recommence with the initial numeral, thence to the 30th or completion, called *punim* ; thus instead of the 16th, 17th, etc., of the month, they say *Sudi ekam* (1st), *Sudi dvj* (3rd).

³ Sogdiana and Transoxiana.

⁴ Hence the word Saka[?].

⁵ See Genealogical Table No. 2 for these names. The sons of the three Midas, pronounced Mede, founded kingdoms at the precise point of time, according to calculation from the number of kings, that Assyria was founded.

⁶ The former were more pastoral, and hence the origin of their name, corrupted to Kelti. The Getae or Jats pursued the hunter's occupation, living more by the chase, though these occupations are generally conjoined in the early stages of civilization.

⁷ Rubruquis and other travellers.

⁸ Colonel Mackenzie's invaluable and gigantic collection.

conclusive. The apotheosis of the patriarch Noah, whom the Hindu styles Manu-Vaivaswata, '*the man, son of the sun,*' may have originated the Dolayatra of the Hindus, the ark of Osiris [606], the ship of Isis amongst the Suevi, in memory of "the forty days" noticed in the traditions of every nation of the earth.

The time may be approaching when this worship in the East, like the Egyptian, shall be only matter of tradition; although this is not likely to be effected by such summary means as were adopted by Cambyzes, who slew the sacred Apis and whipped his priests, while their Greek and Roman conquerors adopted and embellished the Pantheon of the Nile.¹ But when Christianity reared her severe yet simple form, the divinities of the Nile, the Pantheon of Rome, and the Acropolis of Athens, could not abide her awful majesty. The temples of the Alexandrian Serapis were levelled by Theophilus,² while that of Osiris at Memphis became a church of Christ. "Muni de ses pouvoirs, et escorté d'une foule de moines, il mit en fuite les prêtres, brisa les idoles, démolit les temples, ou y établit des monastères."³ The period for thus subverting idolatry is passed: the religion of Christ is not of the sword, but one enjoining peace and goodwill on earth. But as from him "to whom much is given," much will be required, the good and benevolent of the Hindu nations may have ulterior advantages over those Pharisees who would make a monopoly even of the virtues; who "see the mote in their neighbour's eye, but cannot discern the beam in their own." While, therefore, we strive to impart a purer taste and better faith, let us not imagine that the minds of those we would reform are the seats of impurity, because, in accordance with an idolatry coeval with the flood, they continue to worship mysteries opposed to our own modes of thinking [607].

¹ Isis and Osiris, Serapis and Canopus, Apis and Ibïs, adopted by the Romans, whose temples and images, yet preserved, will allow full scope to the Hindu antiquary for analysis of both systems. The temple of Serapis at Pozzuoli is quite Hindu in its ground plan.

² In the reign of Theodosius.

³ *Du Culte*, etc., etc., p. 47.

CHAPTER 23

The Character of the Rājput. Influence of Custom.—The manners of a nation constitute the most interesting portion of its history, but a thorough knowledge of them must be the fruit of long and attentive observation : an axiom which applies to a people even less inaccessible than the Rajputs. The importance and necessity of such an illustration of the Rajput character, in a work like the present, call for and sanction the attempt, however inadequate the means. Of what value to mankind would be the interminable narrative of battles, were their moral causes and results passed by unheeded ? Although both the Persian and Hindu annalists not unfrequently unite the characters of moralist and historian, it is in a manner unsuitable to the subject, according to the more refined taste of Europe. In the poetic annals of the Rajput, we see him check his war-chariot, and when he should be levelling his javelin, commence a discourse upon ethics ; or when the battle is over, the Nestor or Ulysses of the host converts his tent into a lyceum, and delivers lectures on morals or manners. But the reflections which should follow, and form the corollary to each action, are never given ; and even if they were, though we might comprehend the moral movements of a nation, we should still be unable to catch the minute shades of character that complete the picture of domestic life, and which are to be collected from those familiar sentiments uttered in social intercourse, when the mind unbends and nature throws aside the trammels of education and of ceremony. Such a picture would represent the manners, which are continually undergoing modifications, in contradistinction to the morals of society ; the latter, having a fixed creed for their basis, are definite and unchangeable. The *chal* of the Rajput, like the *mores* of the Romans, or *costumi* of modern Italy, is significant alike of mental and external habit. In the moral point of view it is the path chalked out for him by the sages of antiquity [608] ; in the personal, it is that which custom has rendered immutable. *Kaisi buri chal men chalta*, ‘in what a bad path does he march !’ says the moralist : *Bap, Dada ki chal chhori*, ‘he abandons

the usages of his ancestors,' says the stickler for custom, in Rajasthan.¹

Rājput Morals.—The grand features of morality are few, and nearly the same in every nation not positively barbarous. The principles contained in the Decalogue form the basis of every code—of Manu and of Muhammad, as well as of Moses. These are grand landmarks of the truth of divine history ; and are confirmed by the less important traits of personal customs and religious rites, which nations the most remote from each other continue to hold in common. The Koran we know to have been founded on the Mosaic law ; the Sastra of Manu, unconsciously, approaches still more to the Jewish Scriptures in spirit and intention ; and from its pages might be formed a manual of moral instruction, which, if followed by the disciples of the framer, might put more favoured societies to the blush.

Variety of Customs due to Environment.—As it has been observed in a former part of this work, the same religion governing all must tend to produce a certain degree of mental uniformity. The shades of moral distinction which separate these races are almost imperceptible : while you cannot pass any grand natural barrier without having the dissimilarity of customs and manners forced upon your observation. Whoever passes from upland Mewar, the country of the Sesodias, into the sandy flats of Marwar, the abode of the Rathors, would feel the force of this remark. Innovations proceeding from external causes, such as conquest by irreligious foes, and the birth of new sects and schisms, operate important changes in manners and customs. We can only pretend, however, to describe facts which are obvious, and those which history discloses, whence some notions may be formed of the prevailing traits of character in the Rājput ; his ideas of virtue and vice, the social intercourse and familiar courtesies of Rajasthan, and their recreations, public and private.

"The manners of a people," says the celebrated Goguet, "always bear a proportion to the progress they have made in the arts and sciences." If by this test we trace the analogy between past and existing manners amongst the Rājputs, we must conclude at once that they have undergone a decided

¹ ["The custom handed down in regular succession since time immemorial among the four chief castes and the mixed races of that country, is called the conduct of virtuous men" (Manu, *Laws*, ii. 18).]

deterioration. Where can we look for sages like those whose systems of philosophy were the [609] prototypes of those of Greece: to whose works Plato, Thales, and Pythagoras were disciples? Where shall we find the astronomers, whose knowledge of the planetary system yet excites wonder in Europe, as well as the architects and sculptors, whose works claim our admiration, and the musicians, "who could make the mind oscillate from joy to sorrow, from tears to smiles, with the change of modes and varied intonation."¹ The manners of those days must have corresponded with this advanced stage of refinement, as they must have suffered from its decline: yet the homage paid by Asiatics to precedent has preserved many relics of ancient customs, which have survived the causes that produced them.

Treatment of Women by the Rājputs.—It is universally admitted that there is no better criterion of the refinement of a nation than the condition of the fair sex therein. As it is elegantly expressed by Comte Ségur, "*Leur sort est un boussole sûr pour le premier regard d'un étranger qui arrive dans un pays inconnu.*"² Unfortunately, the habitual seclusion of the higher classes of females in the East contracts the sphere of observation in regard to their influence on society; but, to borrow again from our ingenious author, "*les hommes font les lois, les femmes font les mœurs*"; and their incarceration in Rajasthan by no means lessens the application of the adage to that country. Like the magnetic power, however latent, their attraction is not the less certain. "*C'est aux hommes à faire des grandes choses, c'est aux femmes à les inspirer,*" is a maxim to which every Rajput cavalier would subscribe, with whom the age of chivalry is not fled, though ages of oppression have passed over him. He knows there is no retreat into which the report of a gallant action will not penetrate, and set fair hearts in motion to be the object of his search. The bards, those chroniclers of fame, like the Jongleurs of old, have everywhere access, to the palace as to the hamlet; and a brilliant exploit travels with all the rapidity of a comet, and clothed with the splendid decorations of poetry, from the

¹ So says Valmiki, the author of the oldest epic in existence, the *Ramayana* [see p. 693 above].

² *Les Femmes, leur condition et leur influence dans l'ordre social*, vol. i. p. 10.

Indian desert to the valley of the Jumna. If we cannot paint the Rajput dame as invested with all the privileges which Ségur assigns to the first woman, "compagne de l'homme et son égale, vivant par lui, pour lui, associée à son bonheur, à ses plaisirs, à la puissance qu'il exerçait sur ce vaste univers," she is far removed from the condition which demands commiseration [610].

The Seclusion of Women.—Like the ancient German or Scandinavian, the Rajput consults her in every transaction ; from her ordinary actions he draws the omen of success, and he appends to her name the epithet of *devi*, or 'godlike.' The superficial observer, who applies his own standard to the customs of all nations, laments with an affected philanthropy the degraded condition of the Hindu female, in which sentiment he would find her little disposed to join. He particularly laments her want of liberty, and calls her seclusion imprisonment. Although I cordially unite with Ségur, who is at issue with his compatriot Montesquieu on this part of discipline, yet from the knowledge I do possess of the freedom, the respect, the happiness, which Rajput women enjoy, I am by no means inclined to deplore their state as one of captivity. The author of the *Spirit of Laws*, with the views of a closet philosopher, deems seclusion necessary from the irresistible influence of climate on the passions ; while the chivalrous Ségur, with more knowledge of human nature, draws the very opposite conclusion, asserting all restraints to be injurious to morals. Of one thing we are certain, seclusion of females could only originate in a moderately advanced stage of civilization. Amongst hunters, pastors, and cultivators, the women were required to aid in all external pursuits, as well as internal economy. The Jews secluded not their women, and the well, where they assembled to draw water, was the place where marriages were contracted, as with the lower classes in Rajputana. The inundations of the Nile, each house of whose fertile valleys was isolated, is said to have created habits of secluding women with the Egyptians ; and this argument might apply to the vast valleys of the Indus and Ganges first inhabited, and which might have diffused example with the spread of population. Assuredly, if India was colonized from the cradle of nations, Central Asia, they did not thence bring these notions within the Indus ; for the Scythian women went to the opposite extreme,

and were polyandrists.¹ 'The desire of eradicating those impure habits, described by Herodotus, that the slipper at the tent-door should no longer be a sign, may have originated the opposite extreme in a life of entire seclusion. Both polygamy and polyandry originated in a mistaken view of the animal economy, and of the first great command to people the earth : the one was general amongst all the nations [611] of antiquity ; the other rare, though to be found in Scythia, India, and even amongst the Natchez, in the new world ; but never with the Rajput, with whom monogamy existed during the patriarchal ages of India, as amongst the Egyptians.² Of all the nations of the world who have habituated the female to a restricted intercourse with society, whether Grecian, Roman, Egyptian, or Chinese, the Rajput has given least cause to provoke the sentiment of pity ; for if deference and respect be proofs of civilization, Rajputana must be considered as redundant in evidence of it. The uxoriousness of the Rajput might be appealed to as indicative of the decay of national morals ; "chez les barbares (says Ségur) les femmes ne sont rien : les mœurs de ces peuples s'adoucissent-t'-elles, on compte les femmes pour quelque chose : enfin, se corrompent-elles, les femmes sont tout" ; and whether from this decay, or the more probable and amiable cause of seeking, in their society, consolation for the loss of power and independence, the women are nearly everything with the Rajput.

It is scarcely fair to quote Manu as an authority for the proper treatment of the fair sex, since many of his dicta by no means tend to elevate their condition. In his lengthened catalogue of things pure and impure he says, however, "The mouth of a woman is constantly pure,"³ and he ranks it with the running waters and the sunbeam ; he suggests that their names should be "agreeable, soft, clear, captivating the fancy, auspicious, ending in long vowels, resembling words of benediction."⁴

¹ So are some of the Hindu races in the mountainous districts about the Himalaya, and in other parts of India. This curious trait in ancient manners is deserving of investigation : it might throw some light on the early history of the world. ["Each man has but one wife, yet all the women are held in common : for this is a custom of the Massagetae, and not of the Scythians, as the Greeks wrongly say" (Herodotus i. 216). For polyandry in India see Risley, *The People of India*, 2nd ed. 206 ff.]

² [Polygamy does to some extent prevail (*Census Report, Rājputāna*, 1911, i. 157 f.)]

³ *Laws*, v. 130.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 33.

“Where females are honoured” (says Manu), “there the deities are pleased; but where dishonoured, there all religious rites become useless”: and he declares, “that in whatever house a woman not duly honoured pronounces an imprecation, that house, with all that belongs to it, shall utterly perish.”¹ “Strike not, even with a blossom, a wife guilty of a hundred faults,”² says another sage: a sentiment so delicate, that Reginald de Born, the prince of troubadours, never uttered any more refined.

However exalted the respect of the Rajput for the fair, he nevertheless holds that

Nothing lovelier can be found
In woman, than to study household good [612].

The Chief of Sādri and his Wife.—In the most tempestuous period of the history of Mewar, when the Ranas broke asunder the bonds which united them to the other chiefs of Rajasthan, and bestowed their daughters on the foreign nobles incorporated with the higher class of their own kin, the chief of Sadri, so often mentioned, had obtained a princess to wife. There was a hazard to domestic happiness in such unequal alliance, which the lord

¹ *Digest of Hindu Law*, Colebrooke, vol. ii. p. 209 [Manu iii. 55-8].

² Of all the religions which have diversified mankind, whatever man might select, woman should choose the Christian. This alone gives her just rank in the scale of creation, whether arising from the domestic principle which pervades our faith, or the dignity conferred on the sex in being chosen to be the mother of the Saviour of man. In turning over the pages of Manu we find many mortifying texts, which I am inclined to regard as interpolations; as the following, so opposed to the beautiful sentiment above quoted: “A wife, a son, a servant, a pupil, and a younger brother, may be corrected when they commit faults with a rope, or the small thong of a cane” [viii. 299]. Such texts might lead us to adopt Ségur’s conclusions, that ever since the days of the patriarchs women were only brilliant slaves—victims, who exhibited, in the wreaths and floral coronets which bedecked them, the sacrifices to which they were destined. In the patriarchal ages their occupations were to season the viands, and bake the bread, and weave cloth for the tents: their recreations limited to respire the fresh evening air under the shade of a fig tree, and sing canticles to the Almighty. Such a fate, indeed, must appear to a Parisian dame, who passes her time between the Feydeau and Tivoli, and whose daily promenade is through the Champs Élysées, worse than death: yet there is no positive hardships in these employments, and it was but the fair division of labour in the primitive ages, and that which characterizes the Rajputni of the present day.

of Sadri soon experienced. To the courteous request, "Rana-watji, fill me a cup of water," he received a contemptuous refusal, with the remark, that "The daughter of a hundred kings would not become cup-bearer to the chieftain of Sadri."—"Very well," replied the plain soldier, "you may return to your father's house, if you can be of no use in mine." A messenger was instantly sent to the court, and the message, with every aggravation, was made known; and she followed on the heels of her messenger. A summons soon arrived for the Sadri chief to attend his sovereign at the capital. He obeyed; and arrived in time to give his explanation just as the Rana was proceeding to hold a full court. As usual, the Sadri chief was placed on his sovereign's right hand, and when the court broke up, the heir-apparent of Mewar, at a preconcerted sign, stood at the edge of the carpet, performing the menial office of holding the slippers of the chief. Shocked at such a mark of extreme respect, he stammered forth some words of homage, his unworthiness, etc.; to which the Rana replied, "As my son-in-law, no distinction too great can be conferred: take home your wife, she will never again refuse you a cup of water" [613].¹

Could authority deemed divine ensure obedience to what is considered a virtue in all ages and countries, the conjugal duties of the Rajputs are comprehended in the following simple text: "Let mutual fidelity continue to death; this, in few words, may be considered as the supreme law between husband and wife."²

Devotion of Rājput Women.—That this law governed the

¹ Manu lays down some plain and wholesome rules for the domestic conduct of the wife; above all, he recommends her to "preserve a cheerful temper," and "frugality in domestic expenses" [*Laws*, v. 150]. Some of his texts savour, however, more of the anchorite than of a person conversant with mankind; and when he commands the husband to be revered as a god by the virtuous wife, even though enamoured of another woman, it may be justly doubted if ever he found obedience thereto; or the scarcely less difficult ordinance, "for a whole year let a husband bear with his wife who treats him with aversion," after which probation he is permitted to separate [ix. 77]. It is very likely the Rajputs are more in the habit of quoting the first of these texts than of hearing the last: for although they have a choice at home, they are not ashamed to be the avowed admirers of the Aspasia's and Phrynes of the capital; from the same cause which attracted Socrates and made Pericles a slave and which will continue until the united charms of the dance and the song are sanctioned to be practised by the *légitimes* within.

² Manu ix. 101.

Rajputs in past ages, as well as the present, in as great a degree as in other stages of society and other countries, we cannot doubt. Nor will the annals of any nation afford more numerous or more sublime instances of female devotion, than those of the Rajputs ; and such would never have been recorded, were not the incentive likely to be revered and followed. How easy would it be to cite examples for every passion which can actuate the human mind ! Do we desire to see a model of unbounded devotion, resignation, and love, let us take the picture of Sita, as painted by the Milton of their silver age, than which nothing more beautiful or sentimental may be culled even from *Paradise Lost*. Rama was about to abandon his faithful wife for the purpose of becoming a Vana-prastha or hermit, when she thus pours out her ardent desire to partake of his solitude.

A woman's bliss is found, not in the smile
Of father, mother, friend, nor in herself :
Her husband is her only portion here,
Her heaven hereafter. If thou indeed
Depart this day into the forest drear,
I will precede, and smooth the thorny way.

A gay recluse
On thee attending, happy shall I feel
Within the honey-scented grove to roam,
For thou e'en here canst nourish and protect ;
And therefore other friend I cannot need.
To-day most surely with thee will I go,
And thus resolved, I must not be deny'd.
Roots and wild fruit shall be my constant food ;
Nor will I near thee add unto thy cares,
Nor lag behind, nor forest-food refuse,
But fearless traverse every hill and dale.
Thus could I sweetly pass a thousand years ;
But without thee e'en heaven would lose its charms [614].
Pleased to embrace thy feet, I will reside
In the rough forest as my father's house.
Void of all other wish, supremely thine,
Permit me this request—I will not grieve,
I will not burden thee—refuse me not.
But shouldst thou, Raghuvu, this prayer deny
Know, I resolve on death.

Vide Ward, On the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus, ed. 1815, ii. p. 308 ff. [Cp. *Mamū*, vi. 2 ff.]

The publication of Mr. Wilson's specimens of the Hindu drama has put the English public in possession of very striking features of ancient Hindu manners, amongst which conjugal fidelity and affection stand eminently conspicuous. The *Utlara Rama Charitra*, the *Vikrama* and *Urvasi*, and the *Mudra Rakshasa*, contain many instances in point. In the latter piece occurs an example, in comparatively humble life, of the strong affection of a Hindu wife. Chandana Das, like Antonio in the *Merchant of Venice*, is doomed to die, to save his friend. His wife follows him to the scene of execution, with their only child, and the succeeding dialogue ensues :

Chand. Withdraw, my love, and lead our boy along.

Wife. Forgive me, husband,—to another world
Thy steps are bound, and not to foreign realms,
Whence in due time thou homeward wilt return ;
No common farewell our leave-taking now
Admits, nor must the partner of thy fate
Leave thee to trace thy solitary way.

Chand. What dost thou mean ?

Wife. To follow thee in death.

Chand. Think not of this—our boy's yet tender years
Demand affectionate and guardian care.

Wife. I leave him to our household gods, nor fear
They will desert his youth :—come, my dear boy,
And bid thy sire a long and last farewell.

The Tale of Dewaldai.—The annals of no nation on earth record a more ennobling or more magnanimous instance of female loyalty than that exemplified by Dewaldai, mother of the Bannaphar brothers, which will at once illustrate the manners of the Rajput fair, and their estimation and influence in society.

The last Hindu emperor of Delhi, the chivalrous Prithiraj of the Chauhan race, had abducted the daughter of the prince of Sameta. Some of the wounded who had covered his retreat were assailed and put to death by Parmal, the Chandel prince of Mahoba.¹ In order to avenge this insult, the emperor had no sooner conveyed his bride to Delhi than he invaded the territory of the Chandel, whose troops were cut to pieces at Sirswa,² the

¹ [Parmāl or Paramardi Chandel (A.D. 1165–1203). He was defeated by Prithirāj Chauhān in 1182.]

² On the Pahuj, and now belonging to the Bundela prince of Datia. The author has been over this field of battle.

advanced post of his kingdom. While [615] pursuing his success, the Chandel called a council, and by the advice of his queen Malandevi demanded a truce of his adversary, on the plea of the absence of his chieftains Alha and Udala. The brother of the bard of Mahoba was the envoy, who found the Chauhan ready to cross the Pahuj. He presented his gifts, and adjured him, "as a true Rajput, not to take them at such disadvantage." The gifts were accepted, and the Chauhan pledged himself, "albeit his warriors were eager for the fight," to grant the truce demanded; and having dismissed the herald, he inquired of his own bard, the prophetic Chand, the cause of the disaffection which led to the banishment of the Bannaphar; to which he thus replies: "Jasraj was the leader of the armies of Mahoba when his sovereign was defeated and put to flight by the wild race of Gonds; Jasraj repulsed the foe, captured Garha their capital, and laid his head at his sovereign's feet. Parmal returning with victory to Mahoba, in gratitude for his service, embraced the sons of Jasraj, and placed them in his honours and lands, while Malandevi the queen made no distinction between them and her son." The fief of the young Bannaphar¹ chieftains was at the celebrated fortress Kalanjar, where their sovereign happening to see a fine mare belonging to Alha, desired to possess her, and being refused, so far forgot past services as to compel them to abandon the country. On retiring they fired the estates of the Parihara chief who had instigated their disgrace. With their mother and families they repaired to Kanauj, whose monarch received them with open arms, assigning lands for their maintenance. Having thus premised the cause of banishment, Chand conducts us to Kanauj, at the moment when Jagnakh the bard was addressing the exiles on the dangers of Mahoba.

War with Prithirāj.—"The Chauhan is encamped on the plains of Mahoba; Narsingh and Birsingh have fallen, Sirswa is given to the flames, and the kingdom of Parmal laid waste by the Chauhan. For one month a truce has been obtained: while to you I am sent for aid in his griefs. Listen, O sons of Bannaphar; sad have been the days of Malandevi since you left Mahoba! Oft she looks towards Kanauj; and while she recalls you to

¹ [On the Bannāphar sept, from which sprang the heroes Alha and Udal, see Crooke, *Tribes and Castes North-West Provinces*, i. 137 ff.; their bravery forms the subject of numerous ballads (*ASR*, ii. 455 ff.).]

mind, tears gush from her eyes and she exclaims, 'The fame of the Chandel is departing'; but when gone, O sons of Jasraj, great will be your self-accusing sorrow: yet, think of Mahoba."

"Destruction to Mahoba! Annihilation to the Chandel who, without fault [616], expelled us our home: in whose service fell our father, by whom his kingdom was extended. Send the slanderous Parihara—let him lead your armies against the heroes of Delhi. Our heads were the pillars of Mahoba; by us were the Gonds expelled, and their strongholds Deogarh and Chandbari added to his sway. We maintained the field against the Jadon, sacked Hindaun,¹ and planted his standard on the plains of Katehr.² It was I (continued Alha) who stopped the sword of the conquering Kachhwaha³—The amirs of the Sultan fled before us.—At Gaya we were victorious, and added Rewa⁴ to his kingdom. Antarved⁵ I gave to the flames, and levelled to the ground the towns of Mewat.⁶ From ten princes did Jasraj bring spoil to Mahoba. This have we done; and the reward is exile from our home! Seven times have I received wounds in his service, and since my father's death gained forty battles; and from seven has Udala conveyed the record of victory⁷ to Parmal. Thrice my death seemed inevitable. The honour of his house I have upheld—yet exile is my reward!"

The bard replies—"The father of Parmal left him when a child to the care of Jasraj. Your father was in lieu of his own; the son should not abandon him when misfortune makes him call on you. The Rajput who abandons his sovereign in distress will be plunged into hell. Then place on your head the loyalty of your father. Can you desire to remain at Kanauj while he is in

¹ Hindaun was a town dependent on Bayana, the capital of the Jadons, whose descendants still occupy Karauli and Sri Mathura.

² [The modern Rohilkhand Division.]

³ Rao Pajun of Amber, one of the great vassals of the Chauhan, and ancestor of the present Raja of Jaipur.

⁴ In the original, "the land of the Baghel to that of the Chandel." Rewa is capital of [or leading State in] Baghelkhand, founded by the Baghela Rajputs, a branch of the Solanki kings of Anhilwara.

⁵ Antarved, the Duab, or Mesopotamia of the Jumna and Ganges.

⁶ A district S.W. of Delhi, notorious for the lawless habits of its inhabitants: a very ancient Hindu race, but the greater part forced proselytes to the faith of Islam. In the time of Prithiraj the chief of Mewat was one of his vassals.

⁷ *Jayapattra*, or 'bulletin of victory.'

trouble, who expended thousands in rejoicings for your birth? Malandevi (the queen), who loves you as her own, presses your return. She bids me demand of Dewaldai fulfilment of the oft-repeated vow, that your life and Mahoba, when endangered, were inseparable. The breaker of vows, despised on earth, will be plunged into hell, there to remain while sun and moon endure."

Dewaldai heard the message of the queen. "Let us fly to Mahoba," she [617] exclaimed. Alha was silent, while Udala said aloud, "May evil spirits seize upon Mahoba!—Can we forget the day when, in distress, he drove us forth?—Return to Mahoba—let it stand or fall, it is the same to me; Kanauj is henceforth my home."

"Would that the gods had made me barren," said Dewaldai, "that I had never borne sons who thus abandon the paths of the Rajput, and refuse to succour their prince in danger!" Her heart bursting with grief, and her eyes raised to heaven, she continued: "Was it for this, O universal lord, thou mad'st me feel a mother's pangs for these destroyers of Bannaphar's fame? Unworthy offspring! the heart of the true Rajput dances with joy at the mere name of strife—but ye, degenerate, cannot be the sons of Jasraj—some carl must have stolen to my embrace, and from such ye must be sprung." The young chiefs arose, their faces withered in sadness. "When we perish in defence of Mahoba, and covered with wounds, perform deeds that will leave a deathless name; when our heads roll in the field—when we embrace the valiant in fight, and treading in the footsteps of the brave, make resplendent the blood of both lines, even in the presence of the heroes of the Chauhan, then will our mother rejoice."

The envoy having, by this loyal appeal of Dewaldai, attained the object of his mission, the brothers repair to the monarch of Kanauj,¹ in order to ask permission to return to Mahoba; this is granted, and they are dismissed with magnificent gifts, in which the bardic herald participated;² and the parting valediction was

¹ Jaichand was then king of this city, only second to Delhi. He was attacked in 1193 (A.D.) by Shihabu-d-din, after his conquest of the Chauhan, driven from his kingdom, and found a watery grave in the Ganges. [The battle was fought at Chandāwar in the Etāwa District, A.D. 1194 (Smith, *EHI*, 385).]

² Jagnakh had two villages conferred upon him, besides an elephant and a dress.

“preserve the faith of the Rajputs.” The omens during the march were of the worst kind : as Jagnakh expounded them, Alha with a smile replied, “ O bard, though thou canst dive into the dark recesses of futurity, to the brave all omens are happy,¹ even though our heroes shall fall, and the fame of the Chandel must depart ; thus in secret does my soul assure me.” The saras² was alone on the right—the eagle as he flew dropped his prey—the chakwa³ separated from his mate—drops fell from the eyes of the warlike steed—the siyal⁴ sent forth sounds of lamentation ; spots were seen on the disc of the sun ” [618]. The countenance of Lakhan fell ;⁵ these portents filled his soul with dismay : but Alha said, “ though these omens bode death, yet death to the valiant, to the pure in faith, is an object of desire not of sorrow. The path of the Rajput is beset with difficulties, rugged, and filled with thorns ; but he regards it not, so it but conducts to battle.”—“ To carry joy to Parmala alone occupied their thoughts : the steeds bounded over the plain like the swift-footed deer.” The brothers, ere they reached Mahoba, halted to put on the saffron robe, the sign of “ no quarter ” with the Rajput warrior. The intelligence of their approach filled the Chandela prince with joy, who advanced to embrace his defenders, and conduct them to Mahoba ; while the queen Malandevi came to greet Dewaldai, who with the herald bard paid homage, and returned with the queen to the city. Rich gifts were presented, gems resplendent with light. The queen sent for Alha, and extending her hands over his head, bestowed the *asis*⁶ (blessing as kneeling he swore his head was with Mahoba, and then waved a vessel filled with pearls over his head, which were distributed to his followers.⁷

¹ [Compare *Iliad*, xii. 237 ff.]

² The phenicopteros. [The great crane, *Grus antigone*.]

³ A large red duck, the emblem of fidelity with the Rajputs. [The Brahmani duck, *Anas casarca*.]

⁴ The jackal.

⁵ Commander of the succours of Kanauj.

⁶ *Asis* is a form of benediction only bestowed by females and priests : it is performed by clasping both hands over the person's head, and waving a piece of silver or other valuable over him, which is bestowed in charity [the object being to disperse evil influence].

⁷ This is a very ancient ceremony, and is called *Nicharavali* [or *ārti*]. The Author has frequently had a large salver filled with silver coin waved

The bardic herald was rewarded with four villages. We are then introduced to the Chauhan camp and council, where Chand the bard is expatiating on the return of the Bannaphars with the succours of Kanauj. He recommends his sovereign to send a herald to the Chandel to announce the expiration of the truce, and requiring him to meet him in the field, or abandon Mahoba. According to the bard's advice, a dispatch was transmitted to Parmal, in which the cause of war was recapitulated—the murder of the wounded; and stating that, according to Rajput faith, he had granted seven days beyond the time demanded, “and although so many days had passed since succour had arrived from Kanauj, the lion-horn had not yet sounded (*singhnad*)”: adding, “if he abandon all desire of combat, let him proclaim his vassalage to Delhi, and abandon Mahoba.”

Parmal received the hostile message in despair; but calling his warriors around him, he replied to the herald of the Chauhan, that “on the day of the sun, the first of the month, he would join him in strife” [619].

“On the day sacred to Sukra (Friday), Prithiraj sounded the shell, while the drums thrice struck proclaimed the truce concluded.¹ The standard was brought forth, around which the warriors gathered; the cup circulated, the prospect of battle filled their souls with joy. They anointed their bodies with fragrant oils, while the celestial Apsaras with ambrosial oils and heavenly perfumes anointed their silver forms, tinged their eyelids, and prepared for the reception of heroes.² The sound of the war-shell reached Kailas; the abstraction of Iswara was at an end—joy seized his soul at the prospect of completing his chaplet of skulls (*mundamala*). The Yoginis danced with joy, their faces sparkled with delight, as they seized their vessels to drink the blood of the slain. The devourers of flesh, the Palankashas, sung

over his head, which was handed for distribution amongst his attendants. It is most appropriate from the fair, from whom also he has had this performed by their proxies, the family priest or female attendants.

¹ The sankh, or war-shell, is thrice sounded, and the nakkaras strike thrice, when the army is to march; but should it after such proclamation remain on its ground, a scape-goat is slain in front of the imperial tent.

² This picture recalls the remembrance of Hacon and the heroes of the north; with the Valkyries or choosers of the slain; the celestial maids of war of Scandinavia.

songs of triumph at the game of battle between the Chauhan and Chandel."

In another measure, the bard proceeds to contrast the occupations of his heroes and the celestials preparatory to the combat, which descriptions are termed *rupaka*. "The heroes gird on their armour, while the heavenly fair deck their persons. They place on their heads the helm crowned with the war-bell (*vira-gantha*), these adjust the corset; they draw the girths of the war-steed, the fair of the world of bliss bind the anklet of bells; nets of steel defend the turban's fold, they braid their hair with golden flowers and gems; the warrior polishes his falchion—the fair tints the eyelid with *anjan*; ¹ the hero points his dagger, the fair paints a heart on her forehead; he braces on his ample buckler—she places the resplendent orb in her ear; he binds his arms with a gauntlet of brass—she stains her hands with the henna. The hero decorates his hand with the tiger-claw ²—the Apsaras ornaments with rings and golden bracelets; the warrior shakes the ponderous lance—the heavenly fair the garland of love ³ to decorate those who fall in the fight; she binds on a necklace of pearls, he a *mala* of the tulasi.⁴ The warrior strings his bow—the fair assume their killing [620] glances. Once more the heroes look to their girths, while the celestial fair prepare their cars."

After the bard has finished his *rupaka*, he exclaims, "Thus says Chand, the lord of verse; with my own eyes have I seen what I describe." It is important to remark, that the national faith of the Rajput never questions the prophetic power of their chief bard, whom they call Trikala, or cognoscent of the past, the present, and the future—a character which the bard has enjoyed in all ages and climes; but Chand was the last whom they admitted to possess supernatural vision.

¹ [Collyrium.]

² Baghnakh or Naharnakh. [This weapon is best known by its use by Sivaĳi when he slew Afzu-l Khān in 1659 at Pratāpgarh (Grant Duff, *Hist. Mahrattas*, 78). Four specimens in the Indian Museum are described, with an illustration, by Hon. W. Egerton (*Illustrated Handbook of Indian Arms*, 115).]

³ Barmala.

⁴ *Mala*, a necklace. The *tulasi* [the plant *Olymum sanctum*] or *rudraksha* [the nuts of *Elaeocarpus ganitrus*, the former worn by Vaishnavas, the latter by Saivas] had the same estimation amongst the Hindus that the mistletoe had amongst the ancient Britons, and was always worn in battle as a charm.

We must now return to Mahoba, where a grand council had assembled at a final deliberation ; at which, shaded by screens, the mother of the Bannaphars, and the queen Malandevi, were present. The latter thus opens the debate : “ O mother of Alha, how may we succeed against the lord of the world ? ¹ If defeated, lost is Mahoba ; if we pay tribute, we are loaded with shame.” Dewaldai recommends hearing *seriatim* the opinions of the chieftains, when Alha thus speaks : “ Listen, O mother, to your son ; he alone is of pure lineage who, placing loyalty on his head, abandons all thoughts of self, and lays down his life for his prince ; my thoughts are only for Parmal. If she lives she will show herself a woman, or emanation of Parvati.² The warriors of Sambhar shall be cut in pieces. I will so illustrate the blood of my fathers, that my fame shall last for ever. My son Indal, O prince ! I bequeath to you, and the fame of Dewaldai is in your keeping.”

The queen thus replies : “ The warriors of the Chauhan are fierce as they are numerous ; pay tribute, and save Mahoba.” The soul of Udala inflamed, and turning to the queen, “ Why thought you not thus when you slew the defenceless ? but then I was unheard. Whence now your wisdom ? thrice I beseeched you to pardon. Nevertheless, Mahoba is safe while life remains in me, and in your cause, O Parmal ! we shall espouse celestial brides.”

“ Well have you spoken, my son,” said Dewaldai, “ nothing now remains but to make thy parent’s milk resplendent by thy deeds. The call of the peasant driven [621] from his home meets the ear, and while we deliberate, our villages are given to the flames.” But Parmal replied : “ Saturn ³ rules the day, tomorrow we shall meet the foe.” With indignation Alha turned to the king : “ He who can look tamely on while the smoke ascends from his ruined towns, his fields laid waste, can be no Rajput—he who succumbs to fear when his country is invaded, his body will be plunged into the hell of hells, his soul a wanderer in the world of spirits for sixty thousand years ; but the warrior

¹ Prithiraj.

² A Rajput never names his wife. Here it is evidently optional to the widow to live or die, though Alha shows his wish for her society above. See chapter on Satis, which will follow.

³ Sanichar.

who performs his duty will be received into the mansion of the sun, and his deeds will last for ever."

But cowardice and cruelty always accompany each other, nor could all the speeches of the brothers "screw his courage to the sticking place." Parmal went to his queen, and gave fresh vent to his lamentation. She upbraided his unmanly spirit, and bid him head his troops and go forth to the fight. The heroes embraced their wives for the last time, and with the dawn performed their pious rites. The Bannaphar offered oblations to the nine planets, and having adored the image of his tutelary god, he again put the chain round his neck;¹ then calling his son Indal, and Udala his brother, he once more poured forth his vows to the universal mother "that he would illustrate the name of Jasraj, and evince the pure blood derived from Dewaldai, whene'er he met the foe."—"Nobly have you resolved," said Udala, "and shall not my *kirwan*² also dazzle the eyes of Sambhar's lord? shall he not retire from before me?"—"Farewell, my children," said Dewaldai, "be true to your salt, and should you lose your heads for your prince, doubt not you will obtain the celestial crown." Having ceased, the wives of both exclaimed, "What virtuous wife survives her lord? for thus says Gauriji,³ 'the woman, who survives her husband who falls in the field of battle, will never obtain bliss, but wander a discontented ghost in the region of unhallowed spirits.'"

This is sufficient to exhibit the supreme influence of women, not only on, but also in society.

The extract is taken from the Bardic historian, when Hindu customs were pure, and the Chauhan was paramount sovereign of India. It is worth while to compare it with another written six centuries after the conquest by the Muhammadans; although six dynasties—namely, Ghazni, Ghor, Khilji [622], Sayyid, Lodi, and Mogul, numbering more than thirty kings, had intervened, yet the same uncontrollable spirit was in full force, unchangeable even in misfortune. Both Hindu and Persian historians expatiate with delight on the anecdote; but we prefer the narrative of the ingenuous Bernier, under whose eye the incident occurred.

¹ It was a *jantar* or phylactery of Hanuman the monkey deity; probably a magical stanza, with his image.

² A crooked scimitar.

³ One of the names of Mena or Parvati. This passage will illustrate the subject of Satis in a future chapter.

Jaswant Singh and his Wife.—In the civil war for empire amongst the sons of Shah Jahan, when Aurangzeb opened his career by the deposal of his father and the murder of his brothers, the Rajputs, faithful to the emperor, determined to oppose him. Under the intrepid Rathor Jaswant Singh, thirty thousand Rajputs, chiefly of that clan, advanced to the Nerbudda, and with a magnanimity amounting to imprudence, they permitted the junction of Murad with Aurangzeb, who, under cover of artillery served by Frenchmen, crossed the river almost unopposed. Next morning the action commenced, which continued throughout the day. The Rajputs behaved with their usual bravery; but were surrounded on all sides, and by sunset left ten thousand dead on the field.¹ The Maharaja retreated to his own country, but his wife, a daughter of the Rana of Udaipur, “disdained (says Ferishta) to receive her lord, and shut the gates of the castle.”

Bernier, who was present, says, “I cannot forbear to relate the fierce reception which the daughter of the Rana gave to her husband Jeswunt Singh [Jessom Seingue], after his defeat and flight. When she heard he was nigh, and had understood what had passed in the battle; that he had fought with all possible courage; that he had but four or five hundred men left; and at last, no longer able to resist the enemy, had been forced to retreat; instead of sending some one to condole him in his misfortunes, she commanded in a dry mood to shut the gates of the castle, and not to let this infamous man enter; that he was not her husband; that the son-in-law of the great Rana could not have so mean a soul; that he was to remember, that being grafted into so illustrious a house, he was to imitate its virtue; in a word, he was to vanquish, or to die. A moment after, she was of another humour; she commands a pile of wood to be laid, that she might

¹ “’Tis a pleasure (says Bernier) to see them with the fume of opium in their heads, embrace each other when the battle is to begin, and give their mutual farewells, as men resolved to die.” [Ed. 1914, p. 40. The battle of Dharmāt was fought on the banks of the river Sipra (*IGI*, xxi. 14 f.) on 15th April, 1658. Manucci was not present, but gives an account derived from Aurangzeb’s artillery officers of the battle at Dharmātpur, about 14 miles from Ujjain (i. 259 f., and see Jadunath Sarkar, *Life of Aurangzeb*, ii. 1 ff.). The latter (ii. 20 f.) speaks highly of the valour of Jaswant Singh, but Khāfi Khan (Elliot-Dowson vii. 219) says that he acted in a cowardly way. The account quoted by the author is not in the original work of Ferishta, but in Dow’s continuation (ed. 1812, iii. 200 f.).]

burn herself; that they abused her; that her husband must needs be dead; that it could not be otherwise. And a little while after, she was seen to change countenance, to [623] fall into a passion, and break into a thousand reproaches against him.. In short, she remained thus transported eight or nine days, without being able to resolve to see her husband, till at last her mother coming, brought her in time to herself, composed by assuring her that as soon as the Raja had but refreshed himself he would raise another army to fight Aurangzeb, and repair his honour. By which story one may see," says Bernier, "a pattern of the courage of the women in that country"; and he adds this philosophical corollary on this and the custom of satis, which he had witnessed: "There is nothing which opinion, prepossession, custom, hope, and the point of honour, may not make men do or suffer."¹

The Tale of Sanjogta.—The romantic history of the Chauhan emperor of Delhi abounds in sketches of female character; and in the story of his carrying off Sanjogta, the princess of Kanauj, we have not only the individual portrait of the Helen of her country, but in it a faithful picture of the sex. We see her, from the moment when, rejecting the assembled princes, she threw the "garland of marriage" round the neck of her hero, the Chauhan, abandon herself to all the influences of passion—mix in a combat of five days' continuance against her father's array, witness his overthrow, and the carnage of both armies, and subsequently, by her seductive charms, lulling her lover into a neglect of every princely duty. Yet when the foes of his glory and power invade India, we see the enchantress at once start from her trance of pleasure, and exchanging the softer for the sterner passions, in accents not less strong because mingled with deep affection, she conjures him, while arming him for the battle, to die for his fame, declaring that she will join him in "the mansions of the sun." Though it is difficult to extract, in passages sufficiently condensed, what may convey a just idea of this heroine, we shall attempt it in the bard's own language, rendered into prose. He announces the tidings of invasion by the medium of a dream, which the Chauhan thus relates:

¹ Bernier's *History of the Late Revolution of the Empire of the Mogul*, fol. p. 13, ed. 1684 [ed. 1914, p. 40 f., where a somewhat different version is given].

“ ‘This night, while in the arms of sleep, a fair, beautiful as Rambha, rudely seized my arm ; then she assailed you, and while you were struggling, a mighty elephant,¹ infuriated, and hideous as a demon, bore down upon me. Sleep fled—nor Rambha nor demon remained—but my heart was panting, and [624] my quivering lips muttering *Har! Har!*² What is decreed the gods only know.’

“ Sanjogta replied, ‘ Victory and fame to my lord ! O, sun of the Chauhans, in glory, or in pleasure, who has tasted so deeply as you ? To die is the destiny not only of man but of the gods : all desire to throw off the old garment ; but to die well is to live for ever. Think not of self, but of immortality ; let your sword divide your foe, and I will be your *ardhanga* ³ hereafter.’

The king sought the bard, who expounded the dream, and the Guru wrote an incantation, which he placed in his turban. A thousand brass vessels of fresh milk were poured in libations to the sun and moon. Ten buffaloes were sacrificed to the supporters of the globe, and gifts were made to all. But will offerings of blood or libations of milk arrest what is decreed ? If by these man could undo what is ordained, would Nala or the Pandus have suffered as they did ? ”

While the warriors assemble in council to consult on the best mode of opposing the Sultan of Ghazni, the king leaves them to deliberate, in order to advise with Sanjogta. Her reply is curious :

“ Who asks woman for advice ? The world deems their understanding shallow ; even when truths issue from their lips, none listen thereto. Yet what is the world without woman ? We have the forms of Sakti ⁴ with the fire of Siva ; we are at once thieves and sanctuaries ; we are vessels of virtue and of vice—of knowledge and of ignorance. The man of wisdom, the astrologer, can from the books calculate the motion and course of the planets ; but in the book of woman he is ignorant : and this is not a saying of to-day, it ever has been so : our book has not been mastered, therefore, to hide their ignorance, they say,

¹ It is deemed unlucky to see this emblem of Ganesa in sleep.

² The battle-shout of the Rajput. [*Hara*, a title of Siva.]

³ ‘Half-body,’ which we may render, in common phraseology, ‘other half.’

⁴ [The impersonation of the female energy.]

in woman there is no wisdom ! Yet woman shares your joys and your sorrows. Even when you depart from the mansion of the sun, we part not. Hunger and thirst we cheerfully partake with you ; we are as the lakes, of which you are the swans ; what are you when absent from our bosoms ? ”

The army having assembled, and all being prepared to march against the Islamite, in the last great battle which subjugated India, the fair Sanjogta armed her lord for the encounter. “ In vain she sought the rings of his corslet ; her eyes were [625] fixed on the face of the Chauhan, as those of the famished wretch who finds a piece of gold. The sound of the drum reached the ear of the Chauhan ; it was as a death-knell on that of Sanjogta : and as he left her to head Delhi’s heroes, she vowed that henceforward water only should sustain her. “ I shall see him again in the region of Surya, but never more in Yoginipur.”¹ Her prediction was fulfilled : her lord was routed, made captive and slain ; and, faithful to her vow, she mounted the funeral pyre.

The Queen of Ganor.—Were we called upon to give a pendant for Lucretia, it would be found in the queen of Ganor.² After having defended five fortresses against the foe, she retreated to her last stronghold on the Nerbudda, and had scarcely left the bark, when the assailants arrived in pursuit. The disheartened defenders were few in number, and the fortress was soon in possession of the foe, the founder of the family now ruling in Bhopal. The beauty of the queen of Ganor was an allurement only secondary to his desire for her country, and he invited her to reign over it and him. Denial would have been useless, and would have subjected her to instant coercion, for the Khan awaited her reply in the hall below ; she therefore sent a message of assent, with a complimentary reflection on his gallant conduct and determination of pursuit ; adding, that he merited her hand for his bravery, and might prepare for the nuptials, which should be celebrated on the terrace of the palace. She demanded two hours for unmolested preparation, that she might appear in appropriate attire, and with the distinction her own and his rank demanded.

¹ Delhi [“ the city of the witch or sorceress ”].

² [The “ Ganore ” of the text possibly represents the town of Ganora in the Bānswāra State. There is another place of the same name in Gwalior.]

Ceremonials, on a scale of magnificence equal to the shortness of the time, were going on. The song of joy had already stifled the discordant voice of war, and at length the Khan was summoned to the terrace. Robed in the marriage garb presented to him by the queen, with a necklace and aigrette of superb jewels from the coffers of Ganor, he hastened to obey the mandate, and found that fame had not done justice to her charms. He was desired to be seated, and in conversation full of rapture on his side, hours were as minutes while he gazed on the beauty of the queen. But presently his countenance fell—he complained of heat; punkas and water were brought, but they availed him not, and he began to tear the bridal garments from his frame, when the queen thus addressed him [626]: “Know, Khan, that your last hour is come; our wedding and our death shall be sealed together. The vestments which cover you are poisoned; you had left me no other expedient to escape pollution.” While all were horror-struck by this declaration, she sprung from the battlements into the flood beneath. The Khan died in extreme torture, and was buried on the road to Bhopal; and, strange to say, a visit to his grave has the reputation of curing the tertian of that country.¹

Rāja Jai Singh and his Wife.—We may give another anecdote illustrative of this extreme delicacy of sentiment, but without so tragical a conclusion. The celebrated Raja Jai Singh of Amber

¹ [Several of our best authorities—Sir Lauder Brunton, Sir G. Birdwood, Professors A. Keith and A. Doran of the Royal College of Surgeons—have kindly investigated the question of death by poisoned robes, of which various instances are reported in this work. The general result is that it is doubtful if any known poison could be used in this way. Sir Lauder Brunton remarks that a paste of the seeds of *Abrus precatorius* is used for killing animals. Dr. N. Chevers (*Manual of Medical Jurisprudence in India*, p. 299) writes: “Any one who has noticed how freely a robust person in India perspires through a thin garment can understand that, if a cloth were thoroughly impregnated with the cantharidine of that very powerful vesicant, the *Telini*, the result would be as dangerous as an extensive burn.” For *telini* (*Mylabris punctum*), used as a substitute for *Cantharis vesicatoria*, see Sir G. Watt (*Dict. Economic Products of India*, v. 309). Manucci (i. 149) says that Akbar placed such poisons in charge of a special officer. The stock classical case is that of Herakles killed by an ointment made from the blood of Nessus. An old writer, W. Ramesey (*Of Poisons* (1660), p. 14 f.) speaks of poisoning done in this way: but he regards some of “these and the like storeyes to be merely Fabulous . . . and rather to be attributed to the Subtilty, Craft, and Malice of the Devill” (12 series, *Notes and Queries*, i. (1916) p. 417).]

had espoused a princess of Haraoti, whose manners and garb, accordant with the simplicity of that provincial capital, subjected her to the badinage of the more refined court of Amber, whose ladies had added the imperial costume to their own native dress. One day being alone with the prince, he began playfully to contrast the sweeping jupe of Kotah with the more scanty robe of the belles of his own capital; and taking up a pair of scissors, said he would reduce it to an equality with the latter. Offended at such levity, she seized his sword, and assuming a threatening attitude, said, "that in the house to which she had the honour to belong, they were not habituated to jests of this nature; that mutual respect was the guardian, not only of happiness but of virtue"; and she assured him, that if he ever again so insulted her, he would find that the daughter of Kotah could use a sword more effectively than the prince of Amber the scissors; adding, that she would prevent any future scion of her house from being subjected to similar disrespect, by declaring such intermarriages *talak*, or forbidden, which interdict I believe yet exists.¹

A Courageous Rājput Woman.—I will append an anecdote related by the celebrated Zalim Singh, characteristic of the presence of mind, prowess, and physical strength of the Rajput women. To attend and aid in the minutiae of husbandry is by no means uncommon with them, as to dress and carry the meals of their husbands to the fields is a general practice. In the jungle which skirts the knolls of Pachpahar, a huge bear assaulted a Rajputni as she was carrying her husband's dinner. As he approached with an air of gallantry upon his hind-legs, doubting whether the food or herself [627] were the intended prey, she retreated behind a large tree, round the trunk of which Bruin, still in his erect attitude, tried all his powers of circumvention to seize her. At length, half exhausted, she boldly grasped his paws, and with so vigorous a hold that he roared with pain, while in vain, with his short neck, did he endeavour to reach the powerful hand which fixed him. While she was in this dilemma, a Pardesi (a foreign soldier of the State) happened to be passing

¹ The physician (unless he unite with his office that of ghostly comforter) has to feel the pulse of his patient with a curtain between them, through a rent, in which the arm is extended. [See the amusing account by Fryer (*New Account of E. India and Persia*, Hakluyt Society, ed. i. 326 f.).]

to the garrison of Gagraun, and she called out to him in a voice of such unconcern to come and release her for a time, that he complied without hesitation. She had not retired, however, above a dozen yards ere he called loudly for her return, being scarcely able to hold his new friend ; but laughingly recommending perseverance, she hastened on, and soon returned with her husband, who laid the monster prostrate with his matchlock, and rescued the Pardesi from his displeasing predicament.¹

Such anecdotes might be multiplied *ad infinitum* ; but I will conclude with one displaying the romantic chivalry of the Rajput, and the influence of the fair in the formation of character ; it is taken from the annals of Jaisalmer, the most remote of the States of Rajasthan, and situated in the heart of the desert, of which it is an oasis.

The Wedding of Sādhū.—Raningdeo was lord of Pugal, a fief of Jaisalmer ; his heir, named Sadhu, was the terror of the desert, carrying his raids even to the valley of the Indus, and on the east to Nagor. Returning from a foray, with a train of captured camels and horses, he passed by Aurint, where dwelt Manik Rao, the chief of the Mohils, whose rule extended over 1440 villages. Being invited to partake of the hospitality of the Mohil, the heir of Pugal attracted the favourable regards of the old chieftain's daughter :

She loved him for the dangers he had passed ;

for he had the fame of being the first riever of the desert. Although betrothed to the heir of the Rathor of Mandor, she signified her wish to renounce the throne to be the bride of the chieftain of Pugal ; and in spite of the dangers he provoked, and contrary to the Mohil chief's advice, Sadhu, as a gallant Rajput, dared not reject the overture, and he promised " to accept the coco,"² if sent in form to Pugal [628]. In due time it came, and the nuptials were solemnized at Aurint. The dower was splendid ; gems of high price, vessels of gold and silver, a golden bull, and a train of thirteen *dewadharis*,³ or damsels of wisdom and penetration.

¹ [This is a stock story (Risley, *The People of India*, 2nd ed. 179 f. ; Rose, *Glossary*, ii. 220 ; cf. Herodotus v. 12).]

² Sripala.

³ Literally 'lamp-holders' ; such is the term applied to these hand-maids ; who invariably form a part of the *dac̣ja* or 'dower.' [The custom

Arankanwal, the slighted heir of Maudor, determined on revenge, and with four thousand Rathors planted himself in the path of Sadhu's return, aided by the Sankhla Mehraj, whose son Sadhu had slain. Though entreated to add four thousand Mohils to his escort, Sadhu deemed his own gallant band of seven hundred Bhattis sufficient to convey his bride to his desert abode, and with difficulty accepted fifty, led by Meghraj, the brother of the bride.

The rivals encountered at Chondan, where Sadhu had halted to repose; but the brave Rathor scorned the advantage of numbers, and a series of single combats ensued, with all the forms of chivalry. The first who entered the lists was Jaltanga, of the Pahu clan, and of the kin of Sadhu. The enemy came upon him by surprise while reposing on the ground, his saddle-cloth for his couch, and the bridle of his steed twisted round his arm; he was soon recognized by the Sankhla, who had often encountered his prowess, on which he expatiated to Arankanwal, who sent an attendant to awake him; but the gallant Panch Kalyan (for such was the name of his steed) had already performed this service, and they found him upbraiding white-legs¹ for treading upon him. Like a true Rajput, "*longjours prêt*," he received the hostile message, and sent the envoy back with his compliments, and a request for some *amal* or opium, as he had lost his own supply. With all courtesy this was sent, and prepared by the domestics of his antagonist; after taking which he lay down to enjoy the customary *alesta*. As soon as he awoke, he prepared for the combat, girt on his armour, and having reminded Panch Kalyan of the fields he had won, and telling him to bear him well that day, he mounted and advanced. The son of Chonda admiring his snug-froid, and the address with which he guided his steed, commanded Jodha Chauhan, the leader of his party, to encounter the Pahu. "Their two-edged swords soon clashed in combat"; but the gigantic Chauhan fell beneath the Bhatti, who, warned

of wedding handmaids with the bride, the girls often becoming concubines of the bridegroom, is common (Russell, *Tribes and Castes Central Provinces*, i. 63, ii. 77). In Gujaraṭ they are known as Goll or Vadhāran, and are sometimes married to the Khawān, or male slaves of the harem (*Id.* ix. Part I. 147, 235.)

¹ Panch Kalyan is generally, if not always, a chestnut, having four white legs, with a white nose and list or star.

with the fight, plunged amidst his foes, encountering all he deemed worthy of his assault.

The fray thus begun, single combats and actions of equal parties followed, the [629] rivals looking on. At length Sadhu mounted : twice he charged the Rathor ranks, carrying death on his lance ; each time he returned for the applause of his bride, who beheld the battle from her car. Six hundred of his foes had fallen, and nearly half his own warriors. He bade her a last adieu, while she exhorted him to the fight, saying, " she would witness his deeds, and if he fell, would follow him even in death." Now he singled out his rival Arankanwal,¹ who was alike eager to end the strife, and blot out his disgrace in his blood. They met : some seconds were lost in a courteous contention, each yielding to his rival the first blow, at length dealt out by Sadhu on the neck of the disappointed Rathor. It was returned with the rapidity of lightning, and the daughter of the Mohil saw the steel descend on the head of her lover. Both fell prostrate to the earth : but Sadhu's soul had sped ; the Rathor had only swooned. With the fall of the leaders the battle ceased ; and the fair cause of strife, Karamdevi, at once a virgin, a wife, and a widow, prepared to follow her affianced. Calling for a sword, with one arm she dissevered the other, desiring it might be conveyed to the father of her lord—" tell him such was his daughter." The other she commanded to be struck off, and given, with her marriage jewels thereon, to the bard of the Mohils. The pile was prepared on the field of battle ; and taking her lord in her embrace, she gave herself up to the devouring flames. The dis-severed limbs were disposed of as commanded ; the old Rao of Pugal caused the one to be burnt, and a tank was excavated on the spot, which is still called after the heroine, " the lake of Karamdevi."

This encounter took place in S. 1462, A.D. 1406. The brunt of the battle fell on the Sankhla, and only twenty-five out of three hundred and fifty left the field with their leader, Mehraj, himself severely wounded. The rejected lover had four brothers dangerously hurt ; and in six months the wounds of Arankanwal opened afresh : he died, and the rites to the manes of these rivals

¹ *Arankanwal*, ' the lotos of the desert,' from *aranya* (Sanskrit), ' a waste,' and *kamala* (pronounced *kanwal*), ' a lotos' : classically it should be written *aranyakamala* ; I write it as pronounced.

in love, the *chhamasa*¹ of Sadhu, and the *duadasa*² of Arankanwal, were celebrated on the same day.

Without pausing to trace the moral springs of that devotion which influenced the Mohila maiden, we shall relate the sequel to the story (though out of place)³ in illustration of the prosecution of feuds throughout Rajasthan. The fathers [630] now took up the quarrel of their sons; and as it was by the prowess of the Sankhla vassal of Mandor that the band of Sadhu was discomfited, the old Rao, Raningdeo, drew together the lances of Pugal, and carried destruction into the fief of Mehraj. The Sankhlas yield in valour to none of the brave races who inhabit the "region of death"; and Mehraj was the father of Harbuji Sankhla, the Palladin of Marudes, whose exploits are yet the theme of the erratic bards of Rajasthan. Whether he was unprepared for the assault, or overcome by numbers, three hundred of his kin and clan moistened the sand-hills of the Luni with their blood. Raningdeo, flushed with revenge and laden with spoil, had reached his own frontier, when he was overtaken by Chonda of Mandor, alike eager to avenge the loss of his son Arankanwal, and this destructive inroad on his vassal. A desperate conflict ensued, in which the Rao of Pugal was slain; and the Rathor returned in triumph to Mandor.

Unequal to cope with the princes of Mandor, the two remaining sons of Raningdeo, Tana and Mera, resolved to abandon their faith, in order to preserve the point of honour, and "to take up their father's feud."⁴ At this period the king, Khizr Khan,⁵ was at Multan; to him they went, and by offers of service and an open apostacy, obtained a force to march against Chonda, who had recently added Nagor to his growing dominions. While the brothers were thus negotiating, they were joined by Kilan, the third son of their common sovereign, the Rawal of Jaisalmer, who advised the use of *chal*, which with the Rajput means indifferently stratagem or treachery, so that it facilitates revenge. With the ostensible motive of ending their feuds, and restoring tranquillity to their borderers, whose sole occupation was watch-

¹ The rites to the manes on the completion of the 'sixth month.'

² The rites to the manes on the 'twelfth day.'

³ The greater portion of these anecdotes, the foundation of national character, will appear in the respective annals.

⁴ *Bap ra wair lena.*
⁵ [Khizr Khān, of the Sayyid dynasty of Delhi, was left in charge by Timūr, and died A.D. 1421.]

ing, burning, and devastating, Kilan offered a daughter in marriage to Chonda, and went so far as to say, that if he suspected aught unfair, he would, though contrary to custom and his own dignity, send the Bhatti princess to Nagor. This course being deemed the wisest, Chonda acquiesced in his desire "to extinguish the feud (*wair bujhana*)."

Nāgor taken by Stratagem.—Fifty covered chariots were prepared as the nuptial cortège, but which, instead of the bride and her handmaids, contained the bravest men of Pugal.¹ These were preceded by a train of horses led by Rajputs, of whom seven hundred also attended the camels laden with baggage, provisions, and gifts, while a small armed [631] retinue brought up the rear. The king's troops, amounting to one thousand horse, remained at a cautious distance behind. Chonda left Nagor to meet the cavalcade and his bride, and had reached the chariots ere his suspicions were excited. Observing, however, some matters which little savoured of festivity, the Rathor commenced his retreat. Upon this the chiefs rushed from their chariots and camels, and the royal auxiliaries advancing, Chonda was assailed and fell at the gate of Nagor; and friend and foe entering the city together, a scene of general plunder commenced.

Once more the feud was balanced; a son and a father had fallen on each side, and the petty Rao of Pugal had bravely maintained the *wair* against the princes of Mandor. The point of honour had been carried to the utmost bound by both parties, and an opportunity of reconciliation was at hand, which prevented the shadow of disgrace either to him who made or him who accepted the overture. The Rathors dreaded the loss of the recent acquisition, Nagor, and proposed to the Bhattis to seal their pacification with the blood of their common foe. United, they fell on the spoil-encumbered Tatars, whom they slew to a man.² Their father's feud thus revenged, the sons of Raningdeo (who, as apostates from their faith, could no longer hold Pugal in fief, which was retained by Kilan, who had aided their revenge) retired amongst the Aboharia Bhattis, and their descendants are now styled Momin Musalman Bhatti.

¹ [For this legend see Vol. I. p. 308 above.]

² Khizr Khan succeeded to the throne of Delhi in A.D. 1414 [or rather, was left in charge of Delhi by Timūr, and died A.D. 1421], and according to the Jaisalmer annals the commencement of these feuds was in A.D. 1406.

From such anecdotes it will be obvious wherein consists the point of honour with the Rajputs ; and it is not improbable that the very cause which has induced an opinion that females can have no influence on the lords of the creation, namely, their seclusion, operates powerfully in the contrary way.

Influence of Women on Rājput Society.—In spite of this seclusion, the knowledge of their accomplishments and of their personal perfections, radiates wherever the itinerant bard can travel. Though invisible themselves, they can see ; and accident often favours public report, and brings the object of renown within the sphere of personal observation : as in the case of Sadhu and the Mohila maiden. Placed behind screens, they see the youths of all countries, and there are occasions when permanent impressions are made, during tournaments and other martial exercises. Here we have just seen that the passion of the [632] daughter of the Mohil was fostered at the risk of the destruction not only of her father's house, but also that of her lover ; and as the fourteen hundred and forty towns, which owned the sway of the former, were not long after absorbed into the accumulating territory of Mandor, this insult may have been the cause of the extirpation of the Mohils, as it was of the Bhattis of Pugal.

The influence of women on Rajput society is marked in every page of Hindu history, from the most remote periods. What led to the wars of Rama ? the rape of Sita. What rendered deadly the feuds of the Yadus ? the insult to Draupadi. What made prince Nala an exile from Narwar ? his love for Damayanti. What made Raja Bhartari abandon the throne of Avanti ? the loss of Pingali. What subjected the Hindu to the dominion of the Islamite ? the rape of the princess of Kānauj. In fine, the cause which overturned kingdoms, commuted the sceptre to the pilgrim's staff, and formed the groundwork of all their grand epics, is woman. In ancient, and even in modern times, she had more than a negative in the choice of a husband, and this choice fell on the gallant and the gay. The fair Draupadi was the prize of the best archer, and the Pandu Bhima established his fame, and bore her from all the suitors of Kampila. The princess of Kānauj, when led through ranks of the princes of Hind, each hoping to be the object of her choice, threw the marriage-garland (*barmala*) over the neck of the effigy of the Chauhan, which her

father in derision had placed as porter at the gate. Here was incense to fame and incentive to gallantry !¹

In the same manner, as related in another part of this work, did the princess of Kishangarh invite Rana Raj Singh to bear her from the impending union with the emperor of the Moguls ; and abundant other instances could be adduced of the free agency of these invisibles.

It were superfluous to reason on the effects of traditional histories, such as these, on the minds and manners of the females of Rajasthan. They form the amusement of their lives, and the grand topic in all their conversaziones ; they read them with the Purohit, and they have them sung by the itinerant bard or Dholi minstrel [633], who disseminates them wherever the Rajput name extends. The Rajput mother claims her full share in the glory of her son, who imbibes at the maternal fount his first rudiments of chivalry ; and the importance of this parental instruction cannot be better illustrated than in the ever-recurring simile, " make thy mother's milk resplendent " ; the full force of which we have in the powerful, though overstrained expression of the Bundi queen's joy on the announcement of the heroic death of her son : " the long-dried fountain at which he fed, jetted forth as she listened to the tale of his death, and the marble pavement, on which it fell, rent asunder " Equally futile would it be to reason on the intensity of sentiment thus implanted in the infant Rajput, of whom we may say without metaphor, the shield is his cradle, and daggers his playthings ; and with whom the first commandment is, " avenge thy father's feud " ; on which they can heap text upon text, from the days of the great Pandu moralist Vyasa to the not less influential bard of their nation, the Trikala Chand.

¹ The Samnite custom, so lauded by Montesquieu as the reward of youthful virtue, was akin in sentiment to the Rajput, except that the fair Rajputni made herself the sole judge of merit in her choice. It was more calculated for republican than aristocratic society : " On assembloit tous les jeunes gens, et on les jugeoit ; celui qui était déclaré le meilleur de tout prenoit pour sa femme la fille qu'il vouloit : l'amour, la beauté, la chastité, la vertu, la naissance, les richesses même, tout cela était, pour ainsi dire, la dot de la vertu." It would be difficult, adds Montesquieu, to imagine a more noble recompense, or one less expensive to a petty State, or more influential on the conduct of both sexes (*L'Esprit des Loix*, chap. xvi. livre vii.).

CHAPTER 24

The Immolation of Women.—We now proceed to consider another trait of Rajput character, exemplified in the practice of female immolation, and to inquire whether religion, custom, or affection has most share in such sacrifice. To arrive at the origin of this rite, we must trace it to the recesses of mythology, where we shall discover the precedent in the example of Sati, who to avenge an insult to Iswara, in her own father's omission to ask her lord to an entertainment, consumed herself in the presence of the assembled gods. With this act of fealty (*sati*) the name of Daksha's daughter has been identified; and her regeneration and reunion to her husband, as the mountain-nymph Mena, or Parvati, furnish the incentive to similar [634] acts. In the history of these celestial beings, the Rajputni has a memorable lesson before her, that no domestic differences can afford exemption from this proof of faith: for Jupiter and Juno were not more eminent examples of connubial discord than Mena and Siva, who was not only alike unfaithful, but more cruel, driving Mena from his Olympus (Kailas), and forcing her to seek refuge in the murky caverns of Caucasus. Female immolation, therefore, originated with the sun-worshipping Saivas, and was common to all those nations who adored this the most splendid object of the visible creation. Witness the Scythic Gete or Jat warrior of the Jaxartes, who devoted his wife, horse, arms, and slaves, to the flames; the "giant Gete" of Scandinavia, who forgot not on the shores of the Baltic his Transoxianian habits; and the Frisian Frank and Saxon descended from him, who ages after omitted only the female. Could we assign the primary cause of a custom so opposed to the first law of nature with the same certainty that we can prove its high antiquity, we might be enabled to devise some means for its abolition. The chief characteristic of Satiism is its expiating quality: for by this act of faith, the Sati not only makes atonement for the sins of her husband, and secures the remission of her own, but has the joyful assurance of reunion to the object whose beatitude she procures. Having once imbibed this doctrine, its fulfilment is powerfully aided by that heroism of character inherent to the Rajputni; though we see that the stimulant of religion requires no aid even

in the timid female of Bengal, who, relying on the promise of regeneration, lays her head on the pyre with the most philosophical composure.

Nothing short of the abrogation of the doctrines which pronounce such sacrifices exculpatory can be effectual in preventing them ; but this would be to overturn the fundamental article of their creed, the notion of metempsychosis. Further research may disclose means more attainable, and the sacred Shastras are at once the surest and the safest. Whoever has examined these is aware of the conflict of authorities for and against cremation ; but a proper application of them (and they are the highest who give it not their sanction) has, I believe, never been resorted to. Vyasa, the chronicler of the Yadus, a race whose manners were decidedly Scythic, is the great advocate for female sacrifice : he (in the Mahabharata) pronounces the expiation perfect. But Manu inculcates no such doctrine [635] ; and although the state of widowhood he recommends might be deemed onerous by the fair sex of the west, it would be considered little hardship in the east. “ Let her emaciate her body, by living voluntarily on pure flowers, roots, and fruit ; but let her not, when her lord is deceased, even pronounce the name of another man.” Again he says, “ A virtuous wife ascends to heaven, if, after the decease of her lord, she devote herself to pious austerity ; but a widow, who slights her deceased husband by marrying again, brings disgrace on herself here below, and shall be excluded from the seat of her lord.”¹

These and many other texts, enjoining purity of life and manners to the widow, are to be found in this first authority, but none demanding such a cruel pledge of affection. Abstinence from the common pursuits of life, and entire self-denial, are rewarded by “ high renown in this world, and in the next the abode of her husband ” ; and procure for her the title of “ *sadhvi*, or the virtuous.” These are deemed sufficient pledges of affection by the first of sages.² So much has been written on this subject that we shall not pursue it further in this place ; but proceed to consider a still more inhuman practice, infanticide.

¹ Manu, *Laws*, v. 157, 160, 161.

² Were all Manu's maxims on this head collected, and with other good authorities, printed, circulated, and supported by Hindu missionaries, who might be brought to advocate the abolition of Satiism, some good might be effected. Let every text tending to the respectability of widowhood be made prominent, and degrade the opponents by enumerating the weak

Although custom sanctions, and religion rewards, a Sati, the victim to marital selfishness, yet, to the honour of humanity, neither traditionary adage nor religious text can be quoted in support of a practice so revolting as infanticide. Man alone, of the whole animal creation, is equal to the task of destroying his offspring [636]: for instinct preserves what reason destroys. The wife is the sacrifice to his egotism, and the progeny of her own sex to his pride; and if the unconscionable infant should escape the influence of the latter, she is only reserved to become the victim of the former at the period when life is most desirous of extension. If the female reasoned on her destiny, its hardships are sufficient to stifle all sense of joy, and produce indifference to life. When a female is born, no anxious inquiries await the mother—no greetings welcome the newcomer, who appears an

points they abound in. Instance the polyandry which prevailed among the Pandus, whose high priest Vyasa was an illegitimate branch; though above all would be the efficacy of the abolition of polygamy, which in the lower classes leaves women destitute, and in the higher condemns them to mortification and neglect. Whatever result such a course might produce, there can be no danger in the experiment. Such sacrifices must operate powerfully on manners; and, barbarous as is the custom, yet while it springs from the same principle, it ought to improve the condition of women, from the fear that harsh treatment of them might defeat the atonement hereafter. Let the advocate for the abolition of this practice by the hand of power read attentively Mr. Colebrooke's essay, "On the Duties of a Faithful Hindu Widow," in the fourth volume of the *Asiatic Researches* [*Essays on the Religion and Philosophy of the Hindus*, ed. 1858, p. 70 ff.], to correct the notion that there is no adequate religious ordinance for the horrid sacrifice. Mr. C. observes (p. 220): "Though an alternative be allowed, the Hindu legislators have shown themselves disposed to encourage widows to burn themselves with their husband's corpse." In this paper he will find too many authorities deemed sacred for its support; but it is only by knowing the full extent of the prejudices and carefully collecting the conflicting authorities, that we can provide the means to overcome it. Jahangir legislated for the abolition of this practice by successive ordinances. At first he commanded that no woman, being mother of a family, should under any circumstances be permitted, however willing, to immolate herself; and subsequently the prohibition was made entire when the slightest compulsion was required, "whatever the assurances of the people might be." The royal commentator records no reaction. We might imitate Jahangir, and adopting the partially prohibitive ordinance, forbid the sacrifice where there was a family to rear. [The early texts on the subject of Sati have been collected by H. H. Wilson, *Essays and Lectures chiefly on the Religion of the Hindus*, 1881, ii. 270 ff. Also see Max Müller, *Selected Essays on Language, Mythology, and Religion*, 1881, i. 332 ff.]

intruder on the scene, which often closes in the hour of its birth. But the very silence with which a female birth is accompanied forcibly expresses sorrow; and we dare not say that many compunctious visitings do not obtrude themselves on those who, in accordance with custom and imagined necessity, are thus compelled to violate the sentiments of nature. Families may exult in the Satis which their cenotaphs portray,¹ but none ever heard a Rajput boast of the destruction of his infant progeny.

The Origin of Infanticide.—What are the causes, we may ask, sufficiently powerful to induce the suppression of a feeling which every sentient being has in common for its offspring? To suppose the Rajput devoid of this sentiment would argue his deficiency in the ordinary attributes of humanity: often is he heard to exclaim, "Accursed the day when a woman child was born to me!" The same motive which studded Europe with convents, in which youth and beauty were immured until liberated by death, first prompted the Rajput to infanticide: and, however revolting the policy, it is perhaps kindness compared to incarceration. There can be no doubt that monastic seclusion, practised by the Frisians in France, the Langobardi in Italy, and the Visigoths in Spain, was brought from Central Asia, the cradle of the Goths.² It is, in fact, a modification of the same feeling which characterizes the Rajput and the ancient German warrior—the dread of dishonour to the fair: the former raises the poniard

¹ [On Sati shrines and records of their deaths at Bikaner see General G. Hervey, *Some Records of Crime*, i. 209 f., 238 ff.]

² The Ghakkars, a Scythic race inhabiting the banks of the Indus, at an early period of history were given to infanticide. "It was a custom among them," says Ferishta, "as soon as a female child was born, to carry her to the market-place and there proclaim aloud, holding the child in one hand and a knife in the other, that any person who wanted a wife might now take her; otherwise she was immediately put to death. By this means they had more men than women, which occasioned the custom of several husbands to one wife. When this wife was visited by one of her husbands, she set up a mark at the door, which being observed by any of the others who might be coming on the same errand, he immediately withdrew till the signal was taken away."

[This quotation from Ferishta is taken from Dow (2nd ed. i. 138 f.). Compare Briggs' trans., i. 183 f. This account is denied by the present members of the tribe (Rose, *Glossary*, ii. 275). Much that is said about them refers to the Khokhar tribe (Elliot-Dowson v. 168, note).]

to the breast of his wife rather than witness her captivity, and he gives the opiate to the infant, whom, if he cannot portion and marry to her equal, he dare not see degraded [637].

Infanticide.—Although religion nowhere authorizes this barbarity, the laws which regulate marriage amongst the Rajputs powerfully promote infanticide. Not only is intermarriage prohibited between families of the same clan (*khānp*), but between those of the same tribe (*got*); and though centuries may have intervened since their separation, and branches thus transplanted may have lost their original patronymic, they can never be re-grafted on the original stem: for instance, though eight centuries have separated the two grand subdivisions of the Guhilots, and the younger, the Sesodia, has superseded the elder, the Aharya, each ruling distinct States, a marriage between any of the branches would be deemed incestuous: the Sesodia is yet brother to the Aharya, and regards every female of the race as his sister. Every tribe has therefore to look abroad, to a race distinct from its own, for suitors for the females. Foreign war, international feuds, or other calamities affect tribes the most remote from each other; nor can war or famine thin the clans of Marwar, without diminishing the female population of Amber: thus both suffer in a twofold degree. Many virtuous and humane princes have endeavoured to check or mitigate an evil, in the eradication of which every parental feeling would co-operate. Sumptuary edicts alone can control it; and the Rajputs were never sufficiently enamoured of despotism to permit it to rule within their private dwellings. The plan proposed, and in some degree followed by the great Jai Singh of Amber, might with caution be pursued, and with great probability of success. He submitted to the prince of every Rajput State a decree, which was laid before a convocation of their respective vassals, in which he regulated the *daejā* or dower, and other marriage expenditure, with reference to the property of the vassal, limiting it to one year's income of the estate. This plan was, however, frustrated by the vanity of the Chondawat of Salumbar, who expended on the marriage of his daughter a sum even greater than his sovereign could have afforded; and to have his name blazoned by the bards and genealogists, he sacrificed the beneficent views of one of the wisest of the Rajput race. Until vanity suffers itself to be controlled, and the aristocratic Rajput submit to republican

simplicity,¹ the evils arising from nuptial profusion will not cease. Unfortunately, those who could check it find their interest in stimulating it, namely, the whole class of Mangtas [638] (mendicants), bards, minstrels, jugglers, Brahmans who assemble on these occasions, and pour forth their epithalamiums in praise of the virtue of liberality. The Bardais are the grand recorders of fame, and the volume of precedent is always recurred to, in citing the liberality of former chiefs; while the dread of their satire (*visarva*, literally 'poison')² shuts the eyes of the chiefs to consequences, and they are only anxious to maintain the reputation of their ancestors, though fraught with future ruin. "The Dahima emptied his coffers" (says Chand, the pole-star of the Rajputs) "on the marriage of his daughter with Prithiraj; but he filled them with the praises of mankind." The same bard retails every article of these *daejas* or 'dowers,' which thus become precedents for future ages; and the "*lakh pasarna*,"³ then established for the chief bardai, has become a model to posterity. Even now the Rana of Udaipur, in his season of poverty, at the recent marriage of his daughters bestowed "the gift of a lakh" on the chief bard; though the articles of gold, horses, clothes, etc., were included in the estimate, and at an undue valuation, which rendered the gift not quite so precious as in the days of the Chauhan. Were bonds taken from all the feudal chiefs, and a penal clause inserted, of forfeiture of their fief by all who exceeded a fixed nuptial expenditure, the axe would be laid to the root, the evil would be checked, and the heart of many a mother (and we may add father) be gladdened, by preserving at once the point of honour and their child. When ignorance declaims against the gratuitous love of murder amongst these brave men, our contempt is excited equally by its short-sighted conclusions, and the affected philanthropy which overlooks all remedy but the "*sic volo*." Sir John Shore,⁴ when acting on the suggestions of

¹ Could they be induced to adopt the custom of the ancient Marsellois, infanticide might cease: "Marseille fut la plus sage des républiques de son temps: les dots ne pourraient passer cents écus en argent, et cinq en habits, dit Strabon" (*De l'Esprit des Lois*, chap. xv. liv. v. 21).

² [Dr. L. P. Tesitori writes that the true form of this word is *visar*, 'satire,' which has no connexion with *vis*, 'poison.']

³ [This term and the custom of extravagant gifts at marriages still prevail. *Pasārna* means 'to scatter, display' (Russell, *Tribes and Castes Central Provinces*, ii. 256).]

⁴ [*Asiatic Researches*, iv. 353 f.; *Calcutta Review*, i. 377.]

the benevolent Duncan for the suppression of this practice amongst the Rajkumars, judged more wisely as a politician, and more charitably in his estimate of human motives. "A prohibition," says he, "enforced by the denunciation of the severest temporal penalties, would have had little efficacy in abolishing a custom which existed in opposition to the feelings of humanity and natural affection"; but "the sanction of that religion which the Rajkumars professed was appealed to in aid of the ordinances of civil authority; and an engagement binding themselves to desist from the barbarous practice was prepared, and circulated for signature amongst the Rajkumars." It may well be doubted how far this influence could extend, when the root of the evil [639] remained untouched, though not unseen, as the philanthropic Duncan pointed out in the confession of the Rajkumars: "all unequivocally admitted it, but all did not fully acknowledge its atrocity; and the only reason they assigned for the inhuman practice was the great expense of procuring suitable matches for their daughters, if they allowed them to grow up." The Rajkumar is one of the Chauhan sakha, chief of the Agnikulas, and in proportion to its high and well-deserved pretensions on the score of honour, it has more infanticides than any other of the "thirty-six royal races." Amongst those of this race out of the pale of feudalism, and subjected to powers not Rajput, the practice is fourfold greater, from the increased pressure of the cause which gave it birth, and the difficulty of establishing their daughters in wedlock. Raja Jai Singh's enactment went far to remedy this. Conjoin his plan with Mr. Duncan's, provide dowers, and infanticide will cease. It is only by removing the cause that the consequences can be averted.¹

As to the almost universality of this practice amongst the Jarejas, the leading cause, which will also operate to its continuance, has been entirely overlooked. The Jarejas were Rajputs, a subdivision of the Yadus; but by intermarriage with the Muhammadans, to whose faith they became proselytes, they lost their caste. Political causes have disunited them from the Muhammadans, and they desire again to be considered as pure Rajputs; but having been contaminated, no Rajput will intermarry with them. The owner of a hyde of land, whether Sesodia,

¹ [For recent measures proposed for reduction of marriage expenses, see Risley, *The People of India*, 2nd ed. 195 ff.]

Rathor, or Chauhan, would scorn the hand of a Jareja princess. Can the "*sic volo*" be applied to men who think in this fashion?

Johar.—Having thus pointed out the causes of the sacrifice of widows and of infants, I shall touch on the yet more awful rite of Johar, when a whole tribe may become extinct, of which several instances have been recorded in the annals of Mewar. To the fair of other lands the fate of the Rajputni must appear one of appalling hardship. In each stage of life death is ready to claim her; by the poppy at its dawn, by the flames in riper years; while the safety of the interval depending on the uncertainty of war, at no period is her existence worth a twelve-month's purchase. The loss of a battle, or the capture of a city, is a signal to avoid captivity and its horrors, which to the Rajputni are worse than death. To the doctrines of Christianity Europe owes the boon of protection to the helpless and the fair, who are [640] comparatively safe amidst the vicissitudes of war; to which security the chivalry of the Middle Ages doubtless contributed. But it is singular that a nation so refined, so scrupulous in its ideas with regard to females, as the Rajput, should not have entered into some national compact to abandon such proof of success as the bondage¹ of the sex. We can enter into the feeling, and applaud the deed, which ensured the preservation of their honour by the fatal johar, when the foe was the brutalized Tatar. But the practice was common in the international wars of the Rajputs; and I possess numerous inscriptions (on stone and on brass) which record as the first token of victory the captive wives of the foeman. When "the mother of Sisera looked out of the window, and cried through the lattice, Why tarry the wheels of his chariot—have they not sped? have they not divided the prey; to every man a damsel or two?"² we have a perfect picture of the Rajput mother expecting her son from the foray.

The Jewish law with regard to female captives was perfectly analogous to that of Manu; both declare them "lawful prize," and both Moses and Manu establish rules sanctioning the marriage of such captives with the captors. "When a girl is made captive by her lover, after a victory over her kinsman," marriage "is permitted by law."³ That forcible marriage in the Hindu law

¹ *Banda* is 'a bondsman' in Persian; *Bandi*, 'a female slave' in Hindi. [These words have no connexion with "bondage."]

² Judges v. 28-30.

³ Manu, *Laws*, iii. 26.

termed Rakshasa, namely, "the seizure of a maiden by force from her house while she weeps and calls for assistance, after her kinsman and friends have been slain in battle,"¹ is the counterpart of the ordinance regarding the usage of a captive in the Pentateuch,² excepting the "shaving of the head," which is the sign of complete slavery with the Hindu.³ When Hector, anticipating his fall, predicts the fate which awaits Andromache, he draws a forcible picture of the misery of the Rajput; but the latter, instead of a lachrymose and enervating harangue as he prepared for the battle with the same chance of defeat, would have spared her the pain of plying the "Argive loom" by her death. To prevent such degradation, the brave [641] Rajput has recourse to the johar, or immolation of every female of the family: nor can we doubt that, educated as are the females of that country, they gladly embrace such a refuge from pollution. Who would not be a Rajput in such a case? The very term widow (*rand*) is used in common parlance as one of reproach.⁴

Manu commands that whoever accosts a woman shall do so

¹ Manu, *Laws*, iii. 33.

² "When thou goest forth to war against thine enemies, and the Lord thy God hath delivered them into thine hands, and thou hast taken them captive, and seest among the captives a beautiful woman, and hast a desire unto her, that thou wouldest have her to thy wife; then thou shalt bring her home to thine house, and she shall shave her head, and pare her nails; and she shall put the raiment of her captivity from off her, and shall remain in thine house, and bewail her father and her mother a full month: and after that thou shalt go in unto her, and be her husband, and she shall be thy wife" (Deut. xxi. 10, 11, 12, 13).

³ [On head-shaving as a mark of slavery see *Jātaka*, Cambridge trans., v. 125; Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Tribes and Castes of Cochin*, ii. 337; *BG*, ix. Part i. 232.]

⁴ I remember in my subaltern days, and wanderings through countries then little known, one of my Rajput soldiers at the well, impatient for water, asked a woman for the rope and bucket by the uncivil term of *rand*: "*Main Rajputni che*," 'I am a Rajputni,' she replied in the Hara dialect, to which tribe she belonged, "*aur Rajput ki ma cho*," 'and the mother of Rajputs.' At the indignant reply the hands of the brave Kalyan were folded, and he asked her forgiveness by the endearing and respectful epithet of "mother." It was soon granted, and filling his brass vessel, she dismissed him with the epithet of "son," and a gentle reproof. Kalyan was himself a Rajput, and a bolder lives not, if he still exists; this was in 1807, and in 1817 he gained his sergeant's knot, as one of the thirty-two firelocks of my guard, who led the attack, and defeated a camp of fifteen hundred Pindaris.

by the title of "sister,"¹ and that "way must be made for her, even as for the aged, for a priest, a prince, or a bridegroom"; and in the admirable text on the laws of hospitality, he ordains that "pregnant women, brides, and damsels shall have food before all the other guests"²; which, with various other texts, appears to indicate a time when women were less than now objects of restraint; a custom attributable to the paramount dominion of the Muhammadans, from whose rigid system the Hindus have borrowed. But so many conflicting texts are to be found in the pages of Manu, that we may pronounce the compilation never to have been the work of the same legislator: from whose dicta we may select with equal facility texts tending to degrade as to exalt the sex. For the following he would meet with many plaudits: "Let women be constantly supplied with ornaments at festivals and jubilees, for if the wife be not elegantly attired, she will not exhilarate her husband. A wife gaily adorned, the whole house is embellished."³ In the following text he pays an unequivocal compliment to her power: "A female is able to draw from the right path in this life, not a fool only, but even a sage, and can lead him in subjection to desire or to wrath." With this acknowledgment from the very fountain of authority, we have some ground for asserting that *les femmes font les mœurs*, even in Rajputana; and that though immured and invisible, their influence on society is not less certain than if they moved in the glare of open day.

Position of Rājput Women.—Most erroneous ideas have been formed of the Hindu female from the pictures drawn by those who never left the banks of the Ganges. They are represented [612] as degraded beings, and that not one in many thousands can even read. I would ask such travellers whether they know the name of Rajput, for there are few of the lowest chieftains whose daughters are not instructed both to read and write; though the customs of the country requiring much form in epistolary writing, only the signature is made to letters. But of their intellect, and knowledge of mankind, whoever has had to converse with a Rajputni guardian of her son's rights, must draw a very different conclusion.⁴ Though excluded by the

¹ *Laws*, ii. 129.

² *Ibid.* iii. 114.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 57, 60, 61, 62, 63.

⁴ I have conversed for hours with the Bundi queen-mother on the affairs

Salic law of India from governing, they are declared to be fit regents during minority ; and the history of India is filled with anecdotes of able and valiant females in this capacity.¹

Rājput Character.—The more prominent traits of character will be found disseminated throughout the annals ; we shall therefore omit the customary summaries of nationalities, those fanciful debtor and creditor accounts, with their balanced amount, favourable or unfavourable according to the disposition of the observer ; and from the anecdotes through these pages leave the reader to form his own judgement of the Rajput. High courage, patriotism, loyalty, honour, hospitality, and simplicity are qualities which must at once be conceded to them ; and if we cannot vindicate them from charges to which human nature in every clime is obnoxious ; if we are compelled to admit the deterioration of moral dignity, from the continual inroads of, and their consequent collision with, rapacious conquerors ; we must yet admire the quantum of virtue which even oppression and bad example have failed to banish. The meaner vices of deceit and falsehood, which the delineators of national character attach to the Asiatic without distinction, I deny to be universal with the Rajputs, though some tribes may have been obliged from position to use these shields of the weak against continuous oppression. Every court in Rajasthan has [643] its characteristic epithet ; and there is none held more contemptible than the affix

of her government and welfare of her infant son, to whom I was left guardian by his dying father. She had adopted me as her brother ; but the conversation was always in the presence of a third person in her confidence, and a curtain separated us. Her sentiments showed invariably a correct and extensive knowledge, which was equally apparent in her letters, of which I had many. I could give many similar instances.

¹ Ferishta in his history [ii. 217 ff.] gives an animated picture of Durgavati, queen of Garha, defending the rights of her infant son against Akbar's ambition. Like another Boadicea, she headed her army, and fought a desperate battle with Asaf Khan, in which she was wounded and defeated ; but scorning flight, or to survive the loss of independence, she, like the antique Roman in such a predicament, slew herself on the field of battle. [For Durgāvati see Badaoni, trans. W. H. Lowe, ii. 65 ; Elliot-Dowson v. 169, 288, vi. 118 ff. ; Sleeman, *Rambles*, 190 f.]

Whoever desires to judge of the comparative fidelity of the translations of this writer, by Dow [ii. 224 ff.] and Briggs, cannot do better than refer to this very passage. The former has clothed it in all the trappings of Ossianic decoration : the latter gives "a plain unvarnished tale," which ought to be the aim of every translator.

of *jhutha darbar*, 'the lying court,' applied to Jaipur; while the most comprehensive measure of praise is the simple epithet of *sachha*,¹ 'the truth-teller.' Again, there are many shades between deceit and dissimulation: the one springs from natural depravity; the other may be assumed, as with the Rajput, in self-defence. But their laws, the mode of administering them, and the operation of external causes, must be attentively considered before we can form a just conclusion of the springs which regulate the character of a people. We must examine the opinions of the competent of past days, when political independence yet remained to the Rajputs, and not found our judgment of a nation upon a superficial knowledge of individuals. To this end I shall avail myself of the succinct but philosophical remarks of Abu-l-fazl, the wise minister of the wise Akbar, which are equally applicable to mankind at large, as to the particular people we are treating of. "If," he says, speaking of the Hindus, "a diligent investigator were to examine the temper and disposition of the people of each tribe, he would find every individual differing in some respect or other. Some among them are virtuous in the highest degree, and others carry vice to the greatest excess. They are renowned for wisdom, disinterested friendship, obedience to their superiors, and many other virtues: but, at the same time, there are among them men whose hearts are obdurate and void of shame, turbulent spirits, who for the merest trifle will commit the greatest outrages."²

Again: "The Hindus are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, cheerful, enamoured of knowledge, lovers of justice, able in business, grateful, admirers of truth, and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings. Their character shines brightest in adversity. Their soldiers (the Rajputs) know not what it is to fly from the field of battle: but when the success of the combat becomes doubtful, they dismount from their horses, and throw away their lives in payment of the debt of valour."³

I shall conclude this chapter with a sketch of their familiar habits, and a few of their indoor and outdoor recreations.

Introduction of Melons, Grapes, Tobacco, Opium: the Use of Opium.—To Babur, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, India is

¹ *Sachha* is very comprehensive; in common parlance it is the opposite of 'untrue'; but it means 'loyal, upright, just.'

² [*Ain*, iii. 114.]

³ [*Ibid.* iii. 8.]

indebted for the introduction [644] of its melons and grapes ; and to his grandson Jahangir for tobacco.¹ For the introduction of opium we have no date, and it is not even mentioned in the poems of Chand.² This pernicious plant has robbed the Rajput of half his virtues ; and while it obscures these, it heightens his vices, giving to his natural bravery a character of insane ferocity, and to the countenance, which would otherwise beam with intelligence, an air of imbecility. Like all stimulants, its effects are magical for a time ; but the reaction is not less certain : and the faded form or amorphous bulk too often attest the debilitating influence of a drug which alike debases mind and body. In the more ancient epics we find no mention of the poppy-juice as now used, though the Rajput has at all times been accustomed to his *madhava ra piyala*, or 'intoxicating cup.' The essence,³ whether of grain, of roots, or of flowers, still welcomes the guest, but is secondary to the opiate. *Amal lar khana*, 'to eat opium together,' is the most inviolable pledge ; and an agreement ratified by this ceremony is stronger than any adjuration. If a Rajput pays a visit, the first question is, *amal khaya* ? 'have you had your opiate ?'—*amal khao*, 'take your opiate.' On a birthday, when all the chiefs convene to congratulate their brother on another 'knot to his years,' the large cup is brought forth, a lump of opiate put therein, upon which water is poured, and by the aid of a stick a solution is made, to which each helps his neighbour, not with a glass, but with the hollow of his hand held to his mouth. To judge by the wry faces on this occasion, none can like it, and to get rid of the nauseous taste, comfit-balls are handed round. It is curious to observe the animation it inspires ; a Rajput is

¹ The autobiography of both these noble Tatar princes are singular compositions, and may be given as standards of Eastern intellectual acquirement. They minutely note the progress of refinement and luxury. [The sweet melon was probably introduced from Persia, but some varieties of the plant seem to be indigenous. India, however, has a strong claim to ancient cultivation of the vine. Doubtless to the Portuguese may be assigned the credit of having conveyed both the tobacco plant and the knowledge of its properties to India and China (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* ii. 626, 628, vi. Part iv. 263, v. 361 ; *Id. Comm. Prod.* 437 f., 796, 1112 ; Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed. 924 ff.).]

² [If the Greeks discovered opium, the Arabs were chiefly concerned in disseminating in the East the knowledge of the plant and its uses (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* vi. Part i. 24 ff. ; *Comm. Prod.* 846).]

³ 'Arag, 'essence' ; whence *arrack* and *rack*.

fit for nothing without his *amal*, and I have often dismissed their men of business to refresh their intellects by a dose, for when its effects are dissipating they become mere logs [645].¹ Opium to the Rajput is more necessary than food, and a suggestion to the Rana to tax it highly was most unpopular. From the rising generation the author exacted promises that they would resist initiation in this vice, and many grew up in happy ignorance of the taste of opium. He will be the greatest friend to Rajasthan who perseveres in eradicating the evil. The valley of Udaipur is a poppy garden, of every hue and variety, whence the Hindu Sri may obtain a coronet more variegated than ever adorned the Isis of the Nile.

Pledge by eating Opium.—A pledge once given by the Rajput, whether ratified by the “eating opium together,” “an exchange of turbans,” or the more simple act of “giving the right hand,” is maintained inviolable under all circumstances.

Hunting and other Sports.—Their grand hunts have been described. The Rajput is fond of his dog and his gun. The former aids him in pulling down the boar or hare, and with the stalking-horse he will toil for hours after the deer. The greater

¹ Even in the midst of conversation, the eye closes and the head nods as the exciting cause is dissipating, and the countenance assumes a perfect vacuity of expression. Many a chief has taken his siesta in his chair while on a visit to me: an especial failing of my good friend Raj Kalyan of Sadri, the descendant of the brave Shama, who won “the right hand” of the prince at Haldighat. The lofty turban worn by the Raj, which distinguishes this tribe (the Jhala), was often on the point of tumbling into my lap, as he unconsciously nodded. When it is inconvenient to dissolve the opium, the chief carries it in his pocket, and presents it, as we would a pinch of snuff in Europe. In my subaltern days the chieftain of Senthai, in Jaipur, on paying me a visit, presented me with a piece of opium, which I took and laid on the table. Observing that I did not eat it, he said he should like to try the *Farangi ka amal*, ‘the opiate of the Franks.’ I sent him a bottle of powerful Schiedam, and to his inquiry as to the quantity of the dose, I told him he might take from an eighth to the half, as he desired exhilaration or oblivion. We were to have hunted the next morning; but having no sign of my friend, I was obliged to march without ascertaining the effect of the barter of *aphim* for the waters of Friesland; though I have no doubt that he found them quite Lethean. [The Rājputs ascribed a divine power to opium owing to the mental exhilaration caused by the drug: hence the taking of it with a chief was a form of solemn communion, and a renewal of the pledge of loyalty (Russell, *Tribes and Castes, Central Provinces*, i. 170, iii. 161, iv. 425). For opium drinking among Rājputs see Malcolm, *Memoir, Central India*, 2nd ed. ii. 146 f.; Forbes, *Rāsmāla*, 557).]

chieftains have their *ramnas* or preserves, where poaching would be summarily punished, and where the slaughter of all kinds of beasts, elk, hog, hyena, tiger, boar, deer, wild-dog, wolf, or hare, is indiscriminate. Riding in the ring with the lance in tournaments; without the spike, the point being guarded; defence of the sword against the lance, with every variety of "noble horsemanship," such as would render the most expert in Europe an easy prey to the active Rajput, are some of the chief exercises. Firing at a mark with a matchlock, in which they attain remarkable accuracy of aim; and in some parts of the country throwing a dart or javelin from horseback, are favourite amusements. The practice of the bow is likewise a main source of pastime, and in the manner there adopted it requires both dexterity and strength¹ [646]. The Rajput is not satisfied if he cannot bury his arrow either in the earthen target, or in the buffaló, to the feather. The use of the bow is hallowed; Arjuna's bow in the "great war," and that of the Chauhan king, Prithiraj, with which the former gained Draupadi and the latter the fair Sanjogta, are immortalized like that of Ulysses. In these martial exercises the youthful Rajput is early initiated, and that the sight of blood may be familiar, he is instructed, before he has strength to wield a sword, to practise with his boy's scimitar on the heads of lambs and kids. His first successful essay on the animals '*ferae naturae*' is a source of congratulation to his whole family.² In this manner the spirit of chivalry is continually fed, for everything around him speaks of arms and strife. His very amusements are warlike; and the dance and the song, the burthen of which is the record of his successful gallantry, so far from enervating, serve as fresh incitements to his courage.

Wrestling.—The exhibition of the Jethis, or wrestlers,³ is another mode of killing time. It is a state concern for every prince or chief to entertain a certain number of these champions

¹ [The use of the bow has now disappeared except among forest tribes. For its use in Mogul times see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, 91 ff.]

² The author has now before him a letter written by the queen-mother of Bundi desiring his rejoicings on Lalji, 'the beloved's,' *coup d'essai* on a deer, which he had followed most pertinaciously to the death. On this occasion a court was held, and all the chiefs presented offerings and congratulations.

³ [For the Jethi wrestlers in S. India see Thurston, *Tribes and Castes*, ii. 456 ff.]

of the glove. Challenges are sent by the most celebrated from one court to another ; and the event of the *akhara*, as the arena is termed, is looked to with great anxiety.

Armouries.—No prince or chief is without his *silah-khana*, or armoury, where he passes hours in viewing and arranging his arms. Every favourite weapon, whether sword, matchlock, spear, dagger, or bow, has a distinctive epithet. The keeper of the armoury is one of the most confidential officers about the person of the prince. These arms are beautiful and costly. The *sirohi*,¹ or slightly curved blade, is formed like that of Damascus, and is the greatest favourite of all the variety of sabres throughout Rajputana. The long cut-and-thrust, like the Andrea Ferrara, is not uncommon ; nor the *khanda*, or double-edged sword. The matchlocks both of Lahore and the country are often highly finished and inlaid with mother-of-pearl and gold : those of Bundi are the best. The shield of the rhinoceros-hide offers the best resistance, and is often ornamented with animals, beautifully painted, and enamelled in gold and silver. The bow is of buffalo-horn, and the arrows of reed, and barbed in a variety of fashions, as the crescent, the trident, the snake's tongue, and other fanciful forms.

Sheodān Singh. Music.—The Maharaja Sheodan Singh (whose family are heirs presumptive to the throne) was one of my constant visitors ; and the title of 'adopted brother,' which he conferred upon me, allowed him to make his visits unreasonably long. The Maharaja had many excellent qualities. He was the best shot in Mewar ; he was well read in the classic literature of his nation ; deeply versed in the secrets of the chronicles, not only of Mewar but of all Rajwara ; conversant with all the mysteries of the bard, and could improvise on every occasion. He was a proficient in musical science [647], and could discourse most fluently on the whole theory of Sangita, which comprehends vocal and instrumental harmony. He could explain each of the *ragas*, or musical modes, which issued from the five mouths of Siva and his consort Mena, together with the almost endless variations of the *ragas*, to each of which are allotted six

¹ [It takes its name from the town where they were made. The blade is slightly curved, one specimen being rather narrower and lighter than the ordinary sword (*talicār*), (Egerton, *Handbook of Indian Arms*, 1880, p. 105 ; Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, 76 f.)]

consorts or *raginis*. He had attached to his suite the first vocalists of Mewar, and occasionally favoured me by letting them sing at my house. The chief cantatrice had a superb voice, a contralto of great extent, and bore the familiar appellation of 'Catalani.' Her execution of all the *basant* or 'spring-songs,' and the *megh* or 'cloud-songs' of the monsoon, which are full of melody, was perfect. But she had a rival in a singer from Ujjain, and we made a point of having them together, that emulation might excite to excellence. The chieftain of Salumbar, the chief of the Saktawats, and others, frequently joined these parties, as well as the Maharaja : for all are partial to the dance and the song, during which conversation flows unrestrained. Saadatu-lla, whose execution on the guitar would have secured applause even at the Philharmonic, commanded mute attention when he played a *tan* or symphony, or when, taking any of the simple *tappas* of Ujjain as a theme, he wandered through a succession of voluntaries. In summer these little parties were held on the terrace or the house-top, where carpets were spread under an awning, while the cool breezes of the lake gave life after the exhaustion of a day passed under 96° of Fahrenheit. The subjects of their songs are various, love, glory, satire, etc. I was invited to similar assemblies by many of the chiefs ; though none were so intellectual as those of the Maharaja. On birthdays or other festivals the chief Bardai often appears, or the bard of any other tribe who may happen to be present. Then all is mute attention, broken only by the emphatic "*wah, wah !*" the measured nod of the head, or fierce curl of the moustache, in token of approbation or the reverse.¹

The Maharaja's talents for amplification were undoubted, and by more than one of his friends this failing was attributed to his long residence at the court of Jaipur, whose cognomen will not have been forgotten. He had one day been amusing us with feats of his youth, his swimming from island to island, and [648] bestriding the alligators for an excursion.² Like Tell, he had

¹ Poetic impromptus pass on these occasions unrestricted by the fear of the critic, though the long yawn now and then should have given the hint to my friend the Maharaja that his verses wanted Attic. But he had certainly talent, and he did not conceal his light, which shone the stronger from the darkness that surrounded him : for poverty is not the school of genius, and the trade of the schoolmaster has ever been the least lucrative in a capital where rapine has ruled.

² There are two of these alligators quite familiar to the inhabitants of

placed a mark on his son's head and hit it successfully. He could kill an eagle on the wing, and divide a ball on the edge of a knife, the knife itself unseen. While running on in this manner, my features betraying some incredulity, he insisted on redeeming his word. A day was accordingly appointed, and though labouring under an ague, he came with his favourite matchlocks. The more dangerous experiment was desisted from, and he commenced by dividing the ball on the knife. This he placed perpendicularly in the centre of an earthen vessel filled with water; and taking his station at about twenty paces, perforated the centre of the vessel, and allowed you to take up the fragments of the ball; having previously permitted you to load the piece, and examine the vessel, which he did not once approach himself. Another exhibition was striking an orange from a pole without perforating it. Again, he gave the option of loading to a bystander, and retreating a dozen paces, he knocked an orange off untouched by the ball, which, according to a preliminary proviso, could not be found: the orange was not even discoloured by the powder. He was an adept also at chess¹ and chaupar, and could carry on a conversation by stringing flowers in a peculiar manner. If he plumed himself upon his pretensions, his vanity was always veiled under a demeanour full of courtesy and grace; and Maharaja Sheodan Singh would be esteemed a well-bred and well-informed man at the most polished court of Europe.

Every chief has his band, vocal and instrumental; but Sindhia, some years since, carried away the most celebrated vocalists of Udaipur. The Rajputs are all partial to music. The tappa is the favourite measure. Its chief character is plaintive simplicity; and it is analogous to the Scotch, or perhaps still more to the Norman.²

Udaipur, who come when called "from the vasty deep" for food; and I have often exasperated them by throwing an inflated bladder, which the monsters greedily received, only to dive away in angry disappointment. It was on these that my friend affirmed he had ventured.

¹ *Chaturanga*, so called from imitating the formation of an army. The 'four' (*chatur*) 'bodied' (*anga*) array; or elephants, chariots, horse, and foot. His chief antagonist at chess was a blind man of the city. [*Chaupar* is played with oblong dice on a board with two transverse bars in the form of a cross, like *chausar* and *pachisi*.]

² The *tappa* belongs to the very extremity of India, being indigenous as far as the Indus and the countries watered by its arms; and though the

The Rana, who is a great patron of the art, has a small band of musicians, whose only instrument is the *shahna*, or hautboy. They played their national [649] tappas with great taste and feeling; and these strains, wafted from the lofty terrace of the palace in the silence of the night, produced a sensation of delight not unmixed with pain, which its peculiarly melancholy character excites. The Rana has also a few flute or flageolet players, who discourse most eloquent music. Indeed, we may enumerate this among the principal amusements of the Rajputs; and although it would be deemed indecorous to be a performer, the science forms a part of education.¹

Who that has marched in the stillness of night through the mountainous regions of Central India, and heard the warder sound the *turai* from his turreted abode, perched like an eyrie on the mountain-top, can ever forget its graduated intensity of sound, or the emphatic *ham! ham!* ‘all’s well,’ which follows the lengthened blast of the cornet reverberating in every recess.²

Bagpipes.—A species of bagpipe, so common to all the Celtic races of Europe, is not unknown to the Rajputs. It is called the *mashak*,³ but is only the rudiment of that instrument whose

peculiar measure is common in Rajasthan, the prefix of *panjabi* shows its origin. I have listened at Caen to the viola or hurdy-gurdy, till I could have fancied myself in Mewar.

¹ Chand remarks of his hero, the Chauhan, that he was “master of the art,” both vocal and instrumental. Whether profane music was ever common may be doubted; but sacred music was a part of early education with the sons of kings. Rama and his brothers were celebrated for the harmonious execution of episodes from the grand epic, the Ramayana. The sacred canticles of Jayadeva were set to music, and apparently by himself, and are yet sung by the Chaubes. The inhabitants of the various monastic establishments chant their addresses to the deity; and I have listened with delight to the modulated cadences of the hermits, singing the praises of Pataliswara from their pinnacled abode of Abu. It would be injustice to touch incidentally on the merits of the minstrel Dholi, who sings the warlike compositions of the sacred Bardai of Rajasthan.

² The *turai* is the sole instrument of the many of the trumpet kind which is not dissonant. The Kotah prince has the largest band, perhaps, in these countries; instruments of all kinds—stringed, wind, and percussion. But as it is formed by rule, in which the sacred and shrill conch-shell takes precedence, it must be allowed that it is anything but harmonious.

³ [*Mashak* is the name of the leather water-bag. One of the late Râjas of Jind in the Panjâb had a bagpipe band, the musicians wearing kilts and

peculiar influence on the physical, through the moral agency of man, is described by our own master-bard. They have likewise the double flageolet ; but in the same ratio of perfection to that of Europe as the *mashak* to the heart-stirring pipe of the north. As to their lutes, guitars, and all the varieties of tintinnabulants (as Dr. Johnson would call them), it would fatigue without interesting the reader to enumerate them.

Literature among the Rajputs. Observatories.—We now come to the literary attainments of the lords of Rajasthan, of whom there is none without sufficient clerkship to read his grant or agreement for *rakhwali* or blackmail ; and none either so ignorant, or so proud, as the boasted ancestral wisdom of England, whose barons could not even sign their names to the great charter of their liberties. The Rana of Udaipur has unlimited command of [650] his pen, and his letters are admirable ; but we may say of him nearly what was remarked of Charles the Second—"he never wrote a foolish thing, and seldom did a wise one." The familiar epistolary correspondence of the princes and nobles of Rajasthan would exhibit abundant testimony of their powers of mind : they are sprinkled with classical allusions, and evince that knowledge of mankind which constant collision in society must produce. A collection of these letters, which exist in the archives of every principality, would prove that the princes of this country are upon a par with the rest of mankind, not only in natural understanding, but, taking their opportunities into account, even in its cultivation. The prince who in Europe could quote Hesiod and Homer with the freedom that the Rana does on all occasions Vyasa and Valmiki, would be accounted a prodigy ; and there is not a divine who could make application of the ordinances of Moses with more facility than the Rana of those of their great lawgiver Manu. When they talk of the wisdom of their ancestors, it is not a mere figure of speech. The instruction of their princes is laid down in rules held sacred, and must have been far more onerous than any system of European university education, for scarcely a branch of human knowledge is omitted. But the cultivation of the mind, and the arts of polished life, must always flourish in the ratio of a nation's

pink leggings to make them look like their Highland originals. The Yanādis, a forest tribe in Madras, play the bagpipe (Thurston, *Tribes and Castes*, vii. 431.)]

prosperity, and from the decline of the one, we may date the deterioration of the other with the Rajput. The astronomer has now no patron to look to for reward ; there is no Jai Singh to erect such stupendous observatories as he built at Delhi, Benares, Ujjain, and at his own capital ;¹ to construct globes and armillary spheres, of which, according to their own and our system, the Kotah prince has two, each three feet in diameter. The same prince (Jai Singh) collated De la Hire's tables with those of Ulugh Beg, and presented the result to the last emperor of Delhi, worthy the name of the Great Mogul. To these tables he gave the name of *Zij Muhammad Shahi*. It was Jai Singh who, as already mentioned, sought to establish sumptuary laws throughout the nation, to regulate marriages, and thereby prevent infanticide ; and who left his name to the capital he founded, the first in Rajasthan.

But we cannot march over fifty miles of country without observing traces of the genius, talent, and wealth of past days : though—whether the more abstruse sciences, or the lighter arts which embellish life—all are now fast disappearing [651]. Whether in the tranquillity secured to them by the destruction of their predatory foes, these arts and sciences may revive, and the nation regain its elevated tone, is a problem which time alone can solve.

Household Furniture.—In their household economy, their furniture and decorations, they remain unchanged during the lapse of a thousand years. No chairs, no couches adorn their sitting apartments, though the painted and gilded ceiling may be supported by columns of serpentine, and the walls one mass of mirrors, marble, or china ;—nothing but a soft carpet, hidden by a white cloth, on which the guests seat themselves according to rank. In fine, the quaint description of the chaplain to the first embassy which England sent to India, more than two hundred years ago, applies now, as it probably will two hundred years hence. “And now for the furniture the greatest men have in them [their houses], it is *curta supellex*, very little, they (the rooms) being not beautified with hangings, nor with anything besides to line their walls ; for they have no chairs, stools, couches,

¹ [For these observatories see A. ff. Garrett, Pandit Chandradhar Guleri, *The Jaipur Observatory and its Builder*, Allahabad, 1902 ; Fanshawe, *Delhi Past and Present*, 247 f. ; M. A. Sherring, *The Sacred City of the Hindus*, 131 ff. ; *Asiatic Researches*, v. 177 ff.]

tables, beds enclosed with canopies, or curtains, in any of their rooms. And the truth is, that if they had them, the extreme heat would forbid the use of many of them ; all their bravery is upon their floors, on which they spread most excellent carpets.”¹

Dress.—It were useless to expatiate on dress, either male or female, the fashion varying in each province and tribe, though the texture and materials are everywhere the same : cotton in summer, and quilted chintz or broadcloth in winter. The ladies have only three articles of *parure* ; the *ghaghra*, or ‘petticoat’ ; the *kanchuli*, ‘or corset’ ; and the *dopatta*, or ‘scarf,’ which is occasionally thrown over [652] the head as a veil. Ornaments are without number. For the men, trousers of every shape and calibre, a tunic girded with a ceinture, and a scarf, form the wardrobe of every Rajput. The turban is the most important part of the dress, and is the unerring mark of the tribe ; the form and

¹ [E. Terry, *A Voyage to East India*, ed. 1777, p. 185.] Those who wish for an opinion “of the most excellent moralities which are to be observed amongst the people of these nations” cannot do better than read the 14th section of the observant, intelligent, and tolerant chaplain, who is more just, at least on one point, than the modern missionary, who denies to the Hindu filial affection. “And here I shall insert another most needful particular to my present purpose which deserves a most high commendation to be given unto that people in general, how poor and mean soever they be ; and that is, the great exemplary care they manifest in their piety to their parents, that notwithstanding they serve for very little, but five shillings a moon for their whole livelihood and subsistence, yet if their parents be in want, they will impart, at the least, half of that little towards their necessities, choosing rather to want themselves than that their parents should suffer need.” It is in fact one of the first precepts of their religion. The Chaplain thus concludes his chapter “On the Moralities of the Hindu” [232 f.] : “O ! what a sad thing is it for Christians to come short of Indians, even in moralities ; come short of those, who themselves believe to come short of heaven !” The Chaplain closes his interesting and instructive work with the subject of Conversion, which is as remote from accomplishment at this day as it was at that distant period. “Well known it is that the Jesuits there, who, like the Pharisees that would ‘compass sea and land to make one proselyte’ (Matt. xxiii. 15), have sent into Christendom many large reports of their great conversions of infidels in East India. But all these boastings are but reports ; the truth is, that they have there spilt the precious water of Baptism upon some few faces, working upon the necessity of some poor men, who for want of means, which they give them, are contented to wear crucifixes ; but for want of knowledge in the doctrine of Christianity are only in name Christians.” *

* *A Voyage to East India*, 427.

fashion are various, and its decorations differ according to time and circumstances. The *balaband*, or 'silken fillet,' was once valued as the mark of the sovereign's favour, and was tantamount to the courtly "orders" of Europe. The colour of the turban and tunic varies with the season; and the changes are rung upon crimson, saffron, and purple, though white is by far the most common. Their shoes are mere slippers, and sandals are worn by the common classes. Boots are yet used in hunting or war, made of chamois leather, of which material the warrior often has a doublet, being more commodious, and less oppressive, than armour. The dagger or poniard is inseparable from the girdle.

Cookery, Medicine.—The culinary art will be discussed elsewhere, together with the medical, which is very low, and usurped by empyrics, who waste alike the purse and health of the ignorant by the sale of aphrodisiacs, which are sought after with great avidity. Gums, metals, minerals, all are compounded, and for one preparation, while the author was at Udaipur, 7000 rupees (nearly £1000) were expended by the court-physician.

Superstitions.—Their superstitions, incantations, charms, and phylacteries against danger, mental or bodily, will appear more appropriately where the subject is incidently introduced [653].

PERSONAL NARRATIVE OF THE AUTHOR

CHAPTER 25

Leaving Udaipur.—*October 11, 1819.*—Two years had nearly sped since we entered the valley of Udaipur, the most diversified and most romantic spot on the continent of India. In all this time none of us had penetrated beyond the rocky barrier which formed the limit of our horizon, affording the vision a sweep of six miles radius. Each hill and dale, tower and tree, had become familiar to us; every altar, cenotaph, and shrine had furnished its legend, till tradition was exhausted. The ruins were explored, their inscriptions deciphered, each fantastic pinnacle had a name, and the most remarkable chieftains and servants of the court had epithets assigned to them, expressive of some quality, or characteristic. We had our ‘Red Reaver,’ our ‘Roderic Dhu,’ and a ‘Falstaff,’ at the court; our ‘Catalani,’ our ‘Vestris,’ in the song or the ballet. We had our palace in the city, our cutty on the lake, our villa in the woods, our fairy-islands in the water, streams to angle in, deer to [654] shoot, much, in short, to please the eye and gratify the taste:—yet did ennui intrude, and we panted to escape from the “happy valley,” to see what was in the world beyond the mountains. In all these twenty moons, the gigantic portals of Debari, which guard the entrance of the Girwa,¹ had not once creaked on their hinges for our egress; and though from incessant occupation I had wherewithal to lessen the *tædium vite*, my companions not having such resources,

¹The amphitheatre, or circle. [The valley of Udaipur.]

it was in vain that, like the sage Imlac, I urged them not to feel dull in this "blissful captivity": the scenery had become hideous, and I verily believe had there been any pinion-maker in the capital of the Sesodias, they would have essayed a flight, though it might have terminated in the lake. Never did Rasselas sigh more for escape. At length the day arrived, and although the change was to be from all that constitutes the enchantments of vision, from wood and water, dale and mountain, verdure and foliage, to the sterile plains of the sandy desert of Marwar, it was sufficient that it was change. Our party was composed of Captain Waugh, Lieutenant Carey, and Dr. Duncan, with the whole of the escort, consisting of two companies of foot and sixty of Skinner's Horse, all alike delighted to quit the valley where each had suffered more or less from the prevalent fevers of the monsoon, during which the valley is peculiarly unhealthy, especially to foreigners, when the wells and reservoirs overflow from the springs which break in, impregnated with putrid vegetation and mineral poisons, covering the surface with a bluish oily fluid. The art of filtrating water to free it from impurities is unknown to the Rajputs, and with some shame I record that we did not make them wiser, though they are not strangers to the more simple process, adopted throughout the desert, of using potash and alum; the former to neutralize the salt and render the water more fit for culinary purposes; the latter to throw down the impurities held suspended. They also use an alkaline nut in washing, which by simply steeping emits a froth which is a good substitute for soap.¹

On the 12th October, at five A.M., our trumpet sounded to horse, we were not slow in obeying the summons; the "yellow s" with their old native commandant looking even more rful than usual as we joined them. Skinner's Horse² wear mah or tunic of yellow broadcloth, with scarlet turbans and uture. Who [655] does not know that James Skinner's men / e the most orderly in the Company's service, and that in every

¹ *Sabun*, in the lingua franca of India, signifies 'soap.' [The soap-nut ² (*sapindus mukorossi*), the fruit of which is used for washing clothes and to hair (Watt, *Comm. Prod.* 979).]

² [Raised by James Skinner (1778-1841), known as "The Yellow Boys," 1823; 1st Irregular Cavalry (Skinner's Horse), 1840; 1st Bengal Cavalry, 1861 (F. G. Cardow, *Sketch of the Services of the Bengal Native Army to the Year 1895*).]

other qualification constituting the efficient soldier, they are second to none? On another signal which reverberated from the palace, where the drums announced that the descendant of Surya was no sluggard, we moved on through the yet silent capital towards the gate of the sun, where we found drawn up the quotas of Bhindar, Delwara, Amet, and Bansi, sent as an honorary guard by the Rana, to escort us to the frontiers. As they would have been an incumbrance to me and an inconvenience to the country, from their laxity of discipline, after chatting with their leader, during a sociable ride, I dismissed them at the pass, with my respects to the Rana and their several chieftains. We reached the camp before eight o'clock. the distance being only thirteen miles. The spot chosen (and where I afterwards built a residence) was a rising ground between the villages of Merta and Tus, sprinkled with trees, and for a space of four miles clear of the belt of forest which fringes the granite barriers of the valley. It commanded an entire view of the plains in the direction of Chitor, still covered, excepting a patch of cultivation here and there, with jungle. The tiger-mount, its preserves of game, and the mouldering hunting-seats of the Rana and his chieftains, were three miles to the north; to the south, a mile distant, we had the Berach River, abounding in trout; and the noble lake whence it issues, called after its founder the Udai Sagar, was not more than three to the west. For several reasons it was deemed advisable to choose a spot out of the valley; the health of the party, though not an unimportant, was not a principal motive for choosing such a distance from the court. The wretchedness in which we found it rendered a certain degree of interference requisite, and it was necessary that they should shake this off, in order to preserve their independence. It was dreaded lest the aid requested by the Rana, from the peculiar circumstances on our first going amongst them, might be construed as a precedent for the intrusion of advice on after occasions. The distance between the court and the agent of the British Government was calculated to diminish this impression, and obliged them also to trust to their own resources, after the machine was once set in motion. On the heights of Tus our tents were pitched, the escort paraded, and St. George's flag displayed. Here camels, almost wild, were fitted for the first time with the pack-saddle, lamenting in discordant gutturals

the [656] hardship of their fate, though luckily ignorant of the difference between grazing whither they listed in the happy valley, and carrying a load in "the region of death," where they would only find the thorny mimosa or prickly *phog*¹ to satisfy their hunger.

Pallāna.—*October 13.*—There being no greater trial of patience than the preparations for a march after a long halt, we left the camp at daybreak amidst the most discordant yells from the throats of a hundred camels, which drowned every attempt to be heard, while the elephants squeaked their delight in that peculiar treble which they emit when happy. There was one little fellow enjoying himself free from all restraints of curbs or pack-saddles, and inserting his proboscis into the sepoy's baggage, whence he would extract a bag of flour, and move off, pursued by the owner; which was sure to produce shouts of mirth to add to the discord. This little representative of Ganesa was only eight years old, and not more than twelve hands high. He was a most agreeable pet, though the proofs he gave of his wisdom in trusting himself amidst the men when cooking their dinners, were sometimes disagreeable to them, but infinitely amusing to those who watched his actions. The rains having broken up unusually late, we found the boggy ground, on which we had to march, totally unable to bear the pressure of loaded cattle; even the ridges, which just showed their crests of quartz above the surface, were not safe. Our route was over a fine plain well wooded and watered, soil excellent, and studded with numerous large villages; yet all presenting uniformly the effects of warfare and rapine. The landscape, rendered the more interesting by our long incarceration in the valley, was abstractedly pleasing. On our left lay the mountains enclosing the capital, on one of whose elevated peaks are the ruins of Ratakot, overlooking all around; while to the east the eye might in vain seek for a boundary. We passed Deopur, once a township of some consequence, and forming part of the domain of the Bhanej,² Zalim Singh, the

¹ [*Calligonum polygonoides*, a shrub on which camels live for the greater part of the year.]

² *Bhanej*, or 'nephew,' a title of courtesy enjoyed by every chieftain who marries a daughter or immediate kinswoman of the Rana's house. [When Bhīm Singh succeeded in 1793, his first act was to drive his uncle, Zālīm Singh, the son of a Mewār princess, from Jodhpur. He took refuge in

heir of Marwar, whose history, if it could be given here, would redeem the nobles of Rajputana from the charge of being of uncultivated intellect. In listening to [657] his biography, both time and place were unheeded; the narrator, my own venerable Guru,¹ had imbibed much of his varied knowledge from this accomplished chieftain, to whom arms and letters were alike familiar. He was the son of Raja Bijai Singh and a princess of Mewar: but domestic quarrels made it necessary to abandon the paternal for the maternal mansion, and a domain was assigned by the Rana, which put him on a footing with his own children. Without neglecting any of the martial amusements and exercises of the Rajput, he gave up all those hours, generally devoted to idleness, to the cultivation of letters. He was versed in philosophical theology, astronomy, and the history of his country; and in every branch of poesy, from the sacred canticles of Jayadeva to the couplets of the modern bard, he was an adept. He composed and improvised with facility, and his residence was the rendezvous for every bard of fame. That my respected tutor did not overrate his acquirements, I had the best proof in his own, for all which (and he rated them at an immeasurable distance compared with the subject of his eulogy) he held himself indebted to the heir of Marwar, who was at length slain in asserting his right to the throne in the desert.

Rām Singh and the Rāja of Narsinghgarh. The Oswāl Mahājans.—After a four hours' march, picking our way amidst swamps and treacherous bogs, we reached the advanced tents at Pallana. Like Deopur, it presented the spectacle of a ruin, a corner of which held all its inhabitants; the remains of temples and private edifices showed what it had once been. Both towns formerly belonged to the fise of the Rana, who, with his usual improvidence, on the death of his nephew included them in the grant to the temple of Kanhaiya. I found at my tents the minister's right hand, Ram Singh Mehta; Manikchand, the Diwan or factotum of the chieftain of Bhindar; and the ex-Raja

Udaipur, and passed the rest of his days in literary pursuits. He was a man of charm and ability, a gallant soldier, no mean poet. He died in the prime of life in British Merwāra in 1799 (Erskine iii. A. 70).]

¹ My guide or instructor, Yati Gyanchandra, a priest of the Jain sect, who had been with me ten years. To him I owe much, for he entered into all my antiquarian pursuits with zeal.

of Narsinghgarh, now an exile at Udaipur.¹ The first was a fine specimen of the non-militant class of these countries, and although he had seldom passed the boundaries of Mewar, no country could produce a better specimen of a courteous gentleman: his figure tall, deportment easy, features regular and handsome, complexion fair, with a fine slightly-curved beard and mustachios jet black. Ram Singh, without being conceited, is aware that nature has been indulgent to him, and without any foppery he pays great attention to externals. He is always elegantly attired, and varies with good taste the colours of his turban and ceinture, though his loose tunics are always white; the aroma of the *itr* is the only mark of the dandy about him: and this forms no criterion [658], as our red coats attest, which receive a sprinkling at every visit. With his dagger and pendent tassel, and the *balaband* or purple cordon (the Rana's gift) round his turban, behold the servant "whom the king delighteth to honour." As he has to support himself by paying court to the Rana's sister, the queens, and other fair influentials behind the curtain, his personal *attraits* are no slight auxiliaries. He is of the Jain faith, and of the tribe of Osi, which now reckons one hundred thousand families, all of Rajput origin, and descendants of the Agnikula stock. They proselytized in remote antiquity, and settling at the town of Osi in Marwar, retain this designation, or the still more common one of Oswal. It was from the Pramara and Solanki branches of the Agnikula race that these assumed the doctrines of Buddha or Jaina: not however from the ranks of the Brahmans, but, as I firmly believe, from that faith, whatever it was, which these Scythic or Takshak tribes brought from beyond the Indus. In like manner we found the Chauhan (also an Agnikula) regenerated by the Brahmans on Mount Abu; while the fourth tribe, the Parihara (ancient sovereigns of Kashmir), have left traces in the monuments of their capital, Mandor, that they espoused the then prevailing faith of Rajasthan, namely, that of Buddha.²

Mānikchand.—Manikchand, also of the Jain faith, but of a different tribe (the Sambhari), was in all the reverse of Ram Singh.

¹ [A chiefship in Central India under the Bhopāl Agency. In 1819 Subhāg Singh becoming imbecile was replaced by his son Chain Singh, after whose death in 1824 he was restored (*IGI*, xviii. 353).]

² [As usual, Jainism and Buddhism are confounded.]

He was tall, thin, rather bent, and of swarthy complexion, and his tongue and his beads were in perpetual motion. He had mixed in all the intrigues of the last quarter of a century, and, setting Zalim Singh of Kotah aside, had more influenced events than any individual now alive. He was the organ of the Saktawats, and the steward and counsellor of the head of this clan, the Bhindar chief; and being accordingly the irreconcilable foe of the Chondawats, had employed all the resources of his talents and his credit to effect their humiliation. To this end, he has leagued with Sindis, Pathans, and Mahrattas, and would not have scrupled to coalesce with his Satanic Majesty, could he thereby have advanced their revenge: in pursuance of which he has been detained in confinement as a hostage, put to torture from inability to furnish the funds he would unhesitatingly promise for aid, and all the while sure of death if he fell into the hands of his political antagonists. His talent and general information made him always a welcome guest: which was wormwood to the Chondawats, who laid claim to a monopoly of patriotism, and stigmatized the Saktawats as the destroyers [659] of Mewar, though in truth both were equally blind to her interests in their contests for supremacy. He was now beyond fifty, and appeared much older; but was cheerful, good-humoured, and conversant in all the varied occurrences of the times. He at length completely established himself in the Rana's good graces, who gave his elder son a confidential employment. Had he lived, he would have been conspicuous, for he had all the talent of his father, with the personal adjuncts possessed by Ram Singh; but being sensitive and proud, he swallowed poison, in consequence it was said of the severity of an undeserved rebuke from his father, and died generally regretted. I may here relate the end of poor Manika. It was on the ground we had just quitted that he visited me for the last time, on my return from the journey just commenced. He had obtained the contract for the whole transit duties of the State, at the rate of 250,000 rupees per annum. Whether from the corruption of his numerous deputy collectors, his own cupidity, or negligence, he professed his inability to fulfil the contract by nearly a sixth of the amount, though from his talents and promises, a perfect establishment of this important department, which had been taken from others on his account, was expected. It was difficult to judge charitably of his asser-

tions, without giving occasion to his enemies to put a wrong construction on the motives. He pitched his tent near me, and requested an interview. He looked very disconsolate, and remarked, that he had seven several times left his tent, and as often turned back, the bird of omen having each time passed him on the adverse side ; but that at length he had determined to disregard it, as having forfeited confidence, he was indifferent to the future. He admitted the profligacy of his inferiors, whom he had not sufficiently superintended, and took his leave, promising by assiduity to redeem his engagements, though his past character for intrigue made his asseverations doubtful. Again failing to make good his promises, or, as was surmised, having applied the funds to his own estate, he took *saran* with the Raja of Shahpura ; where, mortified in all probability by the reflection of the exultation of his rivals over his disgrace, and having lost the confidence of his own chief when he obtained that of the Rana, he had recourse to the usual expedient of these countries when "perplexed in the extreme,"—took poison and died.

The Rāja of Narsinghgarh.—The last of the trio of visitors on this occasion, the Raja of Narsinghgarh, is now, as before stated, in exile. He is of the tribe of Umat, one of thirty-six divisions [660] of the Pramaras,¹ settled during fifteen generations in Central India, and giving the name of Umatwara to the petty sovereignty of which Narsinghgarh is the capital. Placed in the very heart of the predatory hordes, the Pindaris and Mahrattas occupied almost every village that owned their sway, and compelled him to the degradation of living under Holkar's orange standard, which waved over the battlements of his abode. To one or other of the great Mahratta leaders, Sindhia and Holkar, all the petty princes were made tributary dependents, and Umatwara had early acknowledged Holkar, paying the annual sum of eighty thousand rupees : but this vassalage did not secure the Raja from the ravages of the other spoliators, nor from the rapacity of the myrmidons of his immediate lord paramount. In 1817, when

¹ One of the four Agnikulas. [The Umats were not a distinguished tribe until Achal Singh, Diwān of Narsinghgarh, married his son to a near relation of the Mahārāna of Udaipur, and since this alliance many of the principal Mālwa families eat with the Rājas of Umatwāra (Malcolm, *Memoir of Central India*, 2nd ed. ii. 130 f.). For a full and slightly different account see *IGI*, xviii. 382 ff.]

these countries, for the first time in many centuries, tasted the blessings of peace, Umatwara was, like Mewar, a mass of ruins, its fertile lands being overgrown with the thorny *mimosa* or the useful *kesula*. The Raja partook of the demoralization around him ; he sought refuge in opium and arak from his miseries, and was totally unfitted to aid in the work of redemption when happier days shone upon them. His son Chain Singh contrived to escape these snares, and was found in every respect competent to co-operate in the work of renovation, and through the intervention of the British agent (Major Henley), an arrangement was effected by which the Raja retired on a stipend and the son carried on the duties of government in his name.¹

- * It was unfortunate for these ancient races, that on the fortunate occasion presented in 1817-18, when both Sindhia and Holkar aimed at the overthrow of our power (the one treacherously cloaking his views, the other disclosing them in the field), our policy did not readily grasp it, to rescue all these States from ruin and dependence. Unfortunately, their peculiar history was little known, or it would have been easily perceived that they presented the exact materials we required between us and the entire occupation of the country. But there was then a strong notion afloat of a species of balance of power, and it was imagined that these demoralized and often humiliated Mahrattas were the fittest materials to throw into the scale—against I know not what, except ourselves : for assuredly the day of our reverses will be a jubilee to them, and will level every spear that they can bring against our existence. They would merit contempt if they acted [661] otherwise. Can they cease to remember that the orange flag which waved in triumph from the Sutlej to the Kistna has been replaced by the cross of St. George ? But the snake which flutters in tortuous folds thereon, fitting crest for the wily Mahratta, is only scathed, and may yet call forth the lance of the red cross knight to give the coup de grace.² Let it then be remembered that, both as regards good policy and justice, we owe to these States—independence.

To what does our interference with Umatwara tend, but to realize the tribute of Holkar ; to fix a millstone round their necks,

¹ [Chain Singh quarrelled with the Political Agent, attacked the British forces at Sehore, and was killed in the battle in 1824 (*IGI*, xviii. 383).]

² Sindhia's flag is a snake *argent* on an *orange* field. —

which, notwithstanding the comparative happiness they enjoy, will keep them always repining, and to secure which will make our interference eternal. Had a due advantage been taken of the hostilities in 1817, it might have obviated these evils by sending the predatory sovereign of half a century's duration to a more restricted sphere. It may be said that it is easy to devise plans years after the events which immediately called for them : these not only were mine at the time, but were suggested to the proper authorities ; and I am still disposed to think my views correct.

After chatting some time with the two chiefs described, and presenting them with *itr* and *pan*,¹ they took leave.

Nāthdwāra.—October 14.—Marched at daybreak, and found the route almost impracticable for camels, from the swampy nature of the soil. The country is much broken with irregular low ridges of micaceous schist, in the shape of a chine or hog's back, the crest of which has throughout all its length a vein of quartz piercing the slate, and resembling a back-bone ; the direction of these veins is uniformly N.N.E., and the inclination about 75° to the east. Crossed the Nathdwara ridge, about four hundred feet in height, and, like the hills encircling the valley, composed of a brown granite intersected with protruding veins of quartz, incumbent on blue compact slate. The ascent was a mile and a half east of the town, and on the summit, which is table-land, there are two small lakes, whence water-courses conduct streams on each side of the road to supply the temple and the town. There are noble trees planted on either side of these rivulets, forming a delightful shade. As we passed through the town to our encampment on the [662] opposite side of the Banas River, the inhabitants crowded the streets, shouting their grateful acknowledgments to the power which had redeemed the sacred precincts of Kanhaiya from the scenes of turpitude amidst which they had grown up. They were all looking forward with much pleasure to the approaching festival of Annakuta.

¹ *Pān*, 'the leaf'; *parna* and *patra*, the Sanskrit for 'a leaf'; and hence *panna*, 'a leaf or sheet of paper'; and *patra*, 'a plate of metal or sacrificial cup,' because these vessels were first made of leaves. I was amused with the coincidence between the Sanskrit and Tuscan *panna*. That lovely subject by Raphael, the "Madonna impannata," in the Pitti Palace at Florence, is so called from the subdued light admitted through the window, the panes of which are of paper. [The words have no connexion.]

October 15.—Halted to allow the baggage to join, which, partly from the swamps and partly from the intractable temper of the cattle, we have not seen since we parted company at Merta. Received a visit from the Mukhya of the temple, accompanied by a pilgrim in the person of a rich banker of Surat. A splendid quilted cloak of gold brocade, a blue scarf with a deep border of gold, and an embroidered band for the head, were brought to me as the gift of the god through his high-priest, in testimony of my zeal. I was also honoured with a tray of the sacred food, which consisted of all the dried fruits, spices, and aromatics of the East. In the evening I had a portion of the afternoon repast, consisting of a preparation of milk ; but the days of simplicity are gone, and the Apollo of Vraj has his curds adulterated with rose-water and amber. Perhaps, with the exception of Lodi, where is fabricated the far-famed Parmesan, whose pastures maintain forty thousand kine, there is no other place known which possesses more than the city of the Hindu Apollo, though but a tenth of that of Lodi. But from the four thousand cows, the expenditure of milk and butter for the votaries of Kanhaiya may be judged. I was entertained with the opinions of the old banker on the miraculous and oracular power of the god of Nathdwara. He had just been permitted to prostrate himself before the car which conveyed the deity from the Yamuna, and held forth on the impiety of the age, in withholding the transmission of the miraculous wheels from heaven, which in former days came once in six months. The most devout alone are permitted to worship the chariot of Kanhaiya. The garments which decorate his representative are changed several times a day, to imitate the different stages of his existence, from the youthful Bala to the conqueror of Kansa ; or, as the Surat devotee said in broken English, “ Oh, sir, he be much great god ; he first of all ; and he change from de balak, or child, to de fierce chief, with de bow and arrow a hees hands ” ; while the old Mukhya, whose office it is to perambulate the whole continent of India as one of the couriers of Kanhaiya, lifted up his eyes as he ejaculated, “ Sri Krishna ! Sri Krishna ! ” I gave him a paper [663] addressed to all officers of the British Government who might pass through the lands of the church, recommending the protection of the peacocks and pipal trees, and to forbear polluting the precincts of the god with the blood of animals. To avoid offending against their prejudices in this particular, I

crossed the river, and killed our fowls within our own sanctuary, and afterwards concealed the murder by burying the feathers.

Sagacity of Elephants. Usarwās. — *October 16.* — There is nothing so painful as sitting down inactive when the mind is bent upon an object. Our escort was yet labouring in the swamps, and as we could not be worse off than we were, we deemed it better to advance, and accordingly decamped in the afternoon, sending on a tent to Usarwas ; but though the distance was only eight miles we were benighted, and had the comfort to find old Fateh, "the victorious," floundering with his load in a bog, out of which he was picking his way in a desperate rage. It is generally the driver's fault when such an accident occurs : for if there be but a foot's breadth of sound footing, so sensible is the animal, that he is sure to avoid danger if left to his own discretion and the free use of his proboscis, with which he thumps the ground as he cautiously proceeds step by step, giving signals to his keeper of the safety or the reverse of advancing, as clearly as if he spoke. Fateh's signals had been disregarded, and he was accordingly in a great passion at finding himself abused, and kept from his cakes and butter, of which he had always thirty pounds' weight at sunset. The sagacity of the elephant is well known, and was in no instance better displayed than in the predicament above described. I have seen the huge monster in a position which to him must have been appalling ; but, with an instinctive reliance on others, he awaited in tolerable patience the arrival of materials for his extrication, in the shape of fascines and logs of wood, which being thrown to him, he placed deliberately in front, and making a stout resistance with head, teeth, and foot, pressing the wood, he brought up one leg after the other in a most methodical and pioneer-like manner, till he delivered himself from his miry prison. Fateh did not require such aid ; but, aware that the fault was not his, he soon indignantly shook the load off his back, and left them to get it out in any manner they chose.

Wolves. — Waited to aid in reloading, and it being already dusk, pushed on with my dog Belle, who, observing a couple of animals, darted off into the jungles, and led me after her as fast as the devious paths in such a savage scene would permit. But I [664] soon saw her scampering down the height, the game, in the shape of two huge wolves, close at her heels, and delighted to

find rescue at hand. I have no doubt their retreat from my favourite greyhound was a mere *ruse de guerre* to lead her beyond supporting distance, and they had nearly effected their object : they went off in a very sulky and leisurely manner. In my subaltern days, when with the subsidiary force in Gohad, I remember scouring the tremendous ravines near the Antri Pass to get a spear at a wolf, my companion (Lieut. now Lieut.-Col. T. D. Smith) and myself were soon surrounded by many scores of these hungry animals, who prowled about our camp all night, having carried off a child the night before. As we charged in one direction, they gave way ; but kept upon our quarters without the least fear, and seemingly enjoyed the fun. I do not recollect whether it excited any other feeling than mirth. They showed no symptom of ferocity, or desire to make a meal of us ; or a retreat from these ravines, with their superior topographical knowledge, would doubtless have been difficult.

The Banās River. The Fairy Gift Legend.—We passed the Banas River, just escaping from the rock-bound barriers, our path almost in contact with the water to the left. The stream was clear as crystal, and of great depth ; the banks low and verdant, and fringed with wood. It was a lovely, lonely spot, and well deserved to be consecrated by legendary tale. In ancient times, ere these valleys were trod by the infidel Tatar, coco-nuts were here presented to the genius of the river, whose arm appeared above the waters to receive them ; but ever since some unhallowed hand threw a stone in lieu of a coco-nut, the arm has been withdrawn.¹ Few in fact lived, either to supply or keep alive the traditions which lend a charm to a journey through these wild scenes, though full of bogs and wolves. We reached our journey's end very late, and though no tents were up, we had the consolation to spy the cook in a snug corner with a leg of mutton before some blazing logs, round which he had placed the wall of a tent to check the force of the mountain air. We all congregated round the cook's fire, and were infinitely happier in the prospect before us, and with the heavens for our canopy, than with all our accustomed conveniences and fare. Every one this day had taken his own road, and each had his adventure to relate. Our repast was delicious ; nor did any favourable

¹ [A variant of the well-known Fairy Gift legend (Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India*, 2nd ed. i. 287 ff.).]

account reach us of tents or other luxuries to mar our enjoyments, till midnight, when the fly of the doctor's tent arrived, of which we availed ourselves as a protection against the heavy dews of [665] the night; and though our bivouac was in a ploughed field, and we were surrounded by wild beasts in a silent waste, they proved no drawbacks to the enjoyment of repose.

Halted the 17th, to collect the dislocated baggage; for although such scenes, seasoned with romance, might do very well for us, our followers were ignorant of the name of Ann Radcliffe or other conjurers; and though admirers of tradition, like myself, preferred it after dinner. Usarwas is a valuable village, but now thinly inhabited. It was recently given by the Rana, with his accustomed want of reflection, to a Charan bard, literally for an old song. But even this folly was surpassed on his bestowing the township of Sesoda,¹ in the valley in advance, the place from which his tribe takes its appellation, on another of the fraternity, named Kishna, his master bard, who has the art to make his royal patron believe that opportunity alone is wanting to render his name as famed as that of the illustrious Sanga, or the immortal Partap. I received and returned the visit of an ascetic Sannyasi, whose hermitage was perched upon a cliff not far from our tents. Like most of his brethren, he was intelligent, and had a considerable store of local and foreign legends at command. He was dressed in a loose orange-coloured anga or tunic, with a turban of the same material, in which was twisted a necklace of the lotus-kernel;² he had another in his hand, with which he repeated the name of the deity at intervals. He expressed his own surprise and the sentiments of the inhabitants at the tranquillity they enjoyed, without any tumultuary cause being discoverable; and said that we must be something more than human. This superstitious feeling for a while was felt as well by the prince and the turbulent chief, as by the anchorite of Usarwas

Samecha.—October 18.—Marched at daybreak to Samecha distance twelve miles. Again found our advanced elephant

¹ [The home of the Rāna branch of Guhilots, who take their name from it, while Chitor was the capital of the Rāwal ruling house (Erskine ii. A. 15).]

² [Lotus nuts are used for necklaces, but Sannyāsīs of the *rudrāksha* (*Elaeocarpus ganitrus*) (Watt, *Econ. L. Prod.* 511).]

breakfast-tent in a swamp : halted to extricate him from his difficulties. The road from Nathdwara is but a footpath, over or skirting a succession of low broken ridges, covered with prickly shrubs, as the Khair, the Karil, and Babul.¹ At the village of Gaon Gura, midway in the morning's journey, we entered the alpine valley called the Shera Nala. The village of Gura is placed in the opening or break in the range through which the river flows, whose serpentine meanderings indicate the only road up this majestic valley. On the banks, or in its bed, which we frequently crossed, lay [666] the remainder of this day's march. The valley varies in breadth, but is seldom less than half a mile, the hills rising boldly from their base ; some with a fine and even surface covered with mango trees, others lifting their splintered pinnacles into the clouds. Nature has been lavish of her beauties to this romantic region. The *gular* or wild fig, the *silaphal* or custard-apple, the peach or *aru badam* (almond-peach),² are indigenous and abundant ; the banks of the stream are shaded by the withy, while the large trees, the useful mango and picturesque tamarind, the sacred pipal and bar, are abundantly scattered with many others, throughout. Nor has nature in vain appealed to human industry and ingenuity to second her intents.

Terrace Cultivation.—From the margin of the stream on each side to the mountain's base they have constructed a series of terraces rising over each other, whence by simple and ingenious methods they raise the waters to irrigate the rich crops of sugarcane, cotton, and rice, which they cultivate upon them. Here we have a proof that ingenuity is the same, when prompted by necessity, in the Jura or the Aravalli. Wherever soil could be found, or time decomposed these primitive rocks, a barrier was raised. When discovered, should it be in a hollow below, or on the summit of a crag, it is alike greedily seized on : even there water is found, and if you leave the path below and ascend a hundred feet above the terraces, you will discover pools or reservoirs dammed in with massive trees, which serve to irrigate such insulated spots, or serve as nurseries to the young rice-plants. Not unfrequently, their labour is entirely destroyed, and the dykes swept away by the periodical inundations ; for we observed the high-water mark in the trees considerably up the

¹ [*Acacia catechu*, *Capparis aphylla*, *Acacia arabica*.]

² [*Ficus glomerata*, *Annona squamosa*, *Prunus persica*.]

acclivity. The rice crop was abundant, and the *juar* [millet] or maize was thriving, but scanty; the standard autumnal crop which preceded it, the *makai*, or 'Indian corn,' had been entirely devoured by the locust. The sugar-cane, by far the most valuable product of this curious region, was very fine but sparingly cultivated, from the dread of this insect, which for the last three years had ravaged the valley. There are two species of locusts, which come in clouds, darkening the air, from the desert: the *pharka* and the *tiri* are their names;¹ the first is the great enemy of our incipient prosperity. I observed a colony some time ago proceeding eastward with a rustling, rushing sound, like a distant torrent, or the wind in a forest at the fall of the leaf. We have thus to struggle against natural and artificial obstacles to the rising energies of the country; and dread of the *pharkas* deters speculators [667] from renting this fertile tract, which almost entirely belongs to the fisc. Its natural fertility cannot be better demonstrated than in recording the success of an experiment, which produced five crops, from the same piece of ground, within thirteen months. It must, however, be understood that two of these are species of millet, which are cut in six weeks from the time of sowing. A patch of ground, for which the cultivator pays six rupees rent, will produce sugar-cane six hundred rupees in value: but the labour and expense of cultivation are heavy, and cupidity too often deprives the husbandman of the greater share of the fruits, ninety rupees having been taken in arbitrary taxes, besides his original rent.

The air of this elevated region gave vigour to the limbs, and appetite to the disordered stomach. There was an exhilarating *fraîcheur*, which made us quite frantic; the transition being from 96° of Fahrenheit to English summer heat. We breakfasted in a verdant spot under the shade of a noble fig-tree fanned by the cool breezes from the mountains.

Samecha Town. Rājput Bhūmias.—Samecha consists of three separate hamlets, each of about one hundred houses. It is situated at the base of a mountain distinctively termed Rana Pag, from a well-known path, by which the Ranas secured their retreat to the upland wilds when hard pushed by the Moguls.

¹ [Our knowledge of Indian locusts is still imperfect, the best-known varieties being the Bombay and the North-West (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* vi. Part i. 154 f.; *Comm. Prod.* 686).]

It also leads direct to the capital of the district, avoiding the circuitous route we were pursuing. Samecha is occupied by the Kumbhawats, descendants of Rana Kumbha, who came in a body with their elders at their head to visit me, bringing the famed *kakri*¹ of the valley (often three feet in length), curds, and a kid as gifts. I rose to receive these Rajaputras, the Bhumias or yeomen of the valley; and though undistinguishable in dress from the commonest cultivator, I did homage to their descent. Indeed, they did not require the auxiliaries of dress, their appearance being so striking as to draw forth the spontaneous exclamation from my friends, "what noble-looking fellows!" Their tall and robust figures, sharp aquiline features, and flowing beards, with a native dignity of demeanour (though excepting their chiefs, who wore turbans and scarfs, they were in their usual labouring dresses, immense loose breeches and turbans), compelled respect and admiration. Formerly they gave one hundred matchlocks for garrison duty at Kumbhalmer; but the Mahrattas have pillaged and impoverished them. These are the real allodial tenants of the land, performing personal local service, and paying an annual quit-rent. I conciliated their good opinion by [068] talking of the deeds of old days, the recollection of which a Rajput never outlives. The assembly under the fig-tree was truly picturesque, and would have furnished a good subject for Gerard Dow. Our baggage joined us at Samecha; but many of our camels were already worn out by labouring through swamps, for which they are by nature incapacitated.

October 19.—Marched to Kelwara, the capital of this mountainous region, and the abode of the Ranas when driven from Chitor and the plains of the Banas; on which occasion these valleys received and maintained a great portion of the population of Mewar. There is not a rock or a stream that has not some legend attached to it, connected with these times. The valley presents the same features as already described. Passed a cleft in the mountain on the left, through which a stream rushes, called the "elephant's pool"; a short cut may be made by the foot passenger to Kelwara, but it is too intricate for any unaccustomed to these wilds to venture. We could not ascertain the origin of the "elephant's pool," but it is most likely connected with ancient warfare. Passed the village of Murcha, held by a

¹ [A kind of cucumber, *Cucumis utilisissimus* (Watt, *Comm. Prod.* 439).]

Rathor chieftain. On the margin of a small lake adjoining the village, a small and very neat sacrificial altar attracted my regard ; and not satisfied with the reply that it was *sati ka makan*, 'the place of faith,' I sent to request the attendance of the village seer. It proved to be that of the ancestor of the occupant : a proof of devotion to her husband, who had fallen in the wars waged by Aurangzeb against this country ; when, with a relic of her lord, she mounted the pyre. He is sculptured on horseback, with lance at rest, to denote that it is no churl to whom the record is devoted.

Near the "elephant's pool," and at the village of Kherli, two roads diverge : one, by the *Bargula nal* or pass, conducts direct to Nathdwara ; the other, leading to Rincher, and the celebrated shrine of the four-armed god,¹ famed as a place of pilgrimage. The range on our left terminating abruptly, we turned by Uladar to Kelwara, and encamped in a mango-grove, on a tableland half a mile north of the town. Here the valley enlarges, presenting a wild, picturesque, and rugged appearance. The barometer indicated about a thousand feet of elevation above the level of Udaipur, which is about two thousand above the sea : yet we were scarcely above the base of the alpine cliffs which towered around us on all sides. It was the point of divergence for the waters, which, from the numerous fountains in [669] these uplands, descended each declivity, to refresh the arid plains of Marwar to the west, and to swell the lakes of Mewar to the east. Previous to the damming of the stream which forms that little ocean, the Kankroli lake, it is asserted that the supply to the west was very scanty, nearly all flowing eastward, or through the valley ; but since the formation of the lake, and consequent saturation of the intermediate region, the streams are ever flowing to the west. The spot where I encamped was at least five hundred feet lower than Aret pol, the first of the fortified barriers leading to Kumbhalmer, whose citadel rose more than seven hundred feet above the *terre-pleine* of its outworks beneath.

Kūmbhalmer Fort. Mahārāja Daulat Singh.—The Maharaja Daulat Singh, a near relative of the Rana, and governor of Kumbhalmer, attended by a numerous suite, the crimson standard, trumpets, kettledrums, seneschal, and bard, advanced several miles to meet and conduct me to the castle. According to

¹ [Chaturbhuja Vishnu.]

etiquette, we both dismounted and embraced, and afterwards rode together conversing on the affairs of the province, and the generally altered condition of the country. Daulat Singh, being of the immediate kin of his sovereign, is one of the Babas or infants of Mewar, enumerated in the tribe called Ranawat, with the title of Maharaja. Setting aside the family of Sheodan Singh, he is the next in succession to the reigning family. He is one of the few over whom the general demoralization has had no power, and remains a simple-minded straightforward honest man; blunt, unassuming, and courteous. His rank and character particularly qualify him for the post he holds on this western frontier, which is the key to Marwar. It was in February 1818 that I obtained possession of this place (Kumbhalmer), by negotiating the arrears of the garrison. Gold is the cheapest, surest, and most expeditious of all generals in the East, amongst such mercenaries as we had to deal with, who change masters with the same facility as they would their turban. In twenty-four hours we were put in possession of the fort, and as we had not above one-third of the stipulated sum in ready cash, they without hesitation took a bill of exchange, written on the drum-head, on the mercantile town of Pali in Marwar: in such estimation is British faith held, even by the most lawless tribes of India! Next morning we saw them winding down the western declivity, while we quietly took our breakfast in an old ruined temple. During this agreeable employment, we were joined by Major Macleod, of the artillery, sent by General Donkin to report on the facilities of reducing the place by siege, and [670] his opinion being, that a gun could not be placed in position in less than six weeks, the grilling spared the European force in such a region was well worth the £4000 of arrears. My own escort and party remained in possession for a week, until the Rana sent his garrison. During these eight days our time was amply occupied in sketching and deciphering the monumental records of this singularly diversified spot. It would be vain to attempt describing the intricacies of approach to this far-famed abode, whose exterior is delineated by the pencil. A massive wall, with numerous towers and pierced battlements, having a strong resemblance to the Etruscan, encloses a space of some miles extent below, while the pinnacle or *sikhara* rises, like the crown of the Hindu Cybele, tier above tier of battlements, to the summit, which is crowned with the

Badal Mahall, or 'cloud-palace' of the Ranas. Thence the eye ranges over the sandy deserts and the chaotic mass of mountains, which are on all sides covered with the cactus, which luxuriates amidst the rocks of the Aravalli. Besides the Aret¹ pol, or barrier thrown across the first narrow ascent, about one mile from Kelwara, there is a second called the Halla² pol, intermediate to the Hanuman³ pol, the exterior gate of the fortress, between which and the summit there are three more, viz. the gate of victory, the sanguinary gate, and that of Rama, besides the last, or Chaugan⁴ pol. The barometer stood, at half-past seven A.M., 26° 65'; thermometer 58° Fahr. at the Aret pol: and on the summit at nine, while the thermometer rose to 75°, the barometer had only descended 15', and stood at 26° 50',⁵ though we had ascended full six hundred feet.

A Jain Temple.—Admitting the last range as our guide, the peak of Kumbhalmer will be 3353⁶ feet above the level of the ocean. Hence I laid down the positions of many towns far in the desert. Here were subjects to occupy the pencil at least for a month; but we had only time for one of the most interesting views, the Jain temple before the reader, and a sketch of the fortress itself, both finished on the spot. The design of this temple is truly classic. It consists only of the sanctuary, which has a vaulted dome and colonnaded portico all round. The architecture is undoubtedly Jain, which is as distinct in character from the Brahmanical as their religion. There is a chasteness and simplicity in this specimen of monotheistic worship, affording a wide contrast to the elaborately sculptured shrines of the Saivas, and [671] other polytheists of India. The extreme want of decoration best attests its antiquity, entitling us to attribute it to that period when Samprati Raja, of the family of Chandragupta, was paramount sovereign over all these regions (two hundred years before Christ);⁷ to whom tradition ascribes the most ancient monu-

¹ ['The Barrier.']

² ['The Onset.']

³ ['That of the monkey god,' a common guardian of forts.]

⁴ [Chaugān, 'the Parade Ground.']

⁵ At four o'clock P.M., same position, thermometer 81°; barometer, 26° 85'.

⁶ [3653 feet.]

⁷ [Samprati was grandson of Asoka, and he is credited with the erection of many Jain buildings (Smith, *EHI*, 192 f.; *BG*. i. Part i. 15). From the picture of the temple given by the author, and from an inscription of the reign of Rāna Sangrām Singh (A.D. 1508–27), it could not have been more

ments of this faith, yet existing in Rajasthan and Saurashtra. The proportions and forms of the columns are especially distinct from the other temples, being slight and tapering instead of massive, the general characteristic of Hindu architecture; while the projecting cornices, which would absolutely deform shafts less slight, are peculiarly indicative of the Takshak architect.¹ Samprati was the fourth prince in descent from Chandragupta, of the Jain faith, and the ally of Seleucus, the Grecian sovereign of Bactriana. The fragments of Megasthenes, ambassador from Seleucus, record that this alliance was most intimate; that the daughter of the Rajput king was married to Seleucus, who, in return for elephants and other gifts, sent a body of Greek soldiers to serve Chandragupta. It is curious to contemplate the possibility, nay the probability, that the Jain temple now before the reader may have been designed by Grecian artists, or that the taste of the artists among the Rajputs may have been modelled after the Grecian. This was our temple of Theseus in Mewar. A massive monolithic emblem of black marble of the Hindu Pitrideva had been improperly introduced into the shrine of the worshippers of the "spirit alone." Being erected on the rock, and chiselled from the syenite on which it stands, it may bid defiance to time. There was another sacred structure in its vicinity, likewise Jain, but of a distinct character; indeed offering a perfect contrast to that described. It was three stories in height; each tier was decorated with numerous massive low columns, resting on a sculptured panelled parapet, and sustaining the roof of each story, which, being very low, admitted but a broken light to break the pervading gloom. I should imagine that the sacred architects of the East had studied effect equally with the preservers of learning and the arts in the dark period of Europe, when those monuments, which must ever be her pride, arose on the ruins of paganism. How far the Saxon or Scandinavian pagan contributed to the general design of such structures may be doubted; but that their decorations, especially the

than three centuries old when he saw it (*IA*, ii. 205). There are two temples, one consisting of a square sanctuary with a vaulted dome, and surrounded by a colonnade of elegant pillars: the second is of peculiar design, having three stories, each tier being decorated with massive low columns (*Erskine* ii. A. 116).]

¹ See note, p. 37, above.

grotesque, have a powerful resemblance to the most ancient Hindu-Scythic, there is no question, as I shall hereafter more particularly point out [672].

Who, that has a spark of imagination, but has felt the indescribable emotion which the gloom and silence of a Gothic cathedral excites? The very extent provokes a comparison humiliating to the pigmy spectator, and this is immeasurably increased when the site is the mountain pinnacle, where man and his works fade into nothing in contemplating the magnificent expanse of nature. The Hindu priest did not raise the temple for heterogeneous multitudes: he calculated that the mind would be more highly excited when left to its solitary devotions, amidst the silence of these cloistered columns, undisturbed save by the monotony of the passing bell, while the surrounding gloom was broken only by the flare of the censer as the incense mounts above the altar.

Temple of Māma Devi.—It would present no distinct picture to the eye were I to describe each individual edifice within the scope of vision, either upwards towards the citadel, or below. Looking down from the Jain temple towards the pass, till the contracting gorge is lost in distance, the gradually diminishing space is filled with masses of ruin. I will only notice two of the most interesting. The first is dedicated to Mama Devi, 'the mother of the gods,' whose shrine is on the brow of the mountain overlooking the pass. The goddess is placed in the midst of her numerous family, including the greater and lesser divinities. They are all of the purest marble, each about three feet in height, and tolerably executed, though evidently since the decline of the art, of which very few good specimens exist executed within the last seven centuries. The temple is very simple and primitive, consisting but of a long hall, around which the gods are ranged, without either niche or altar.

The most interesting portion of this temple is its court, formed by a substantial wall enclosing a tolerable area. The interior of this wall had been entirely covered with immense tables of black marble, on which was inscribed the history of their gods, and, what was of infinitely greater importance, that of the mortal princes who had erected the tablets in their honour. But what a sight for the antiquary! Not one of the many tables was entire; the fragments were strewed about, or placed in position

to receive the flesh-pots of the sons of Ishmael, the mercenary Rohilla Afghan [673].¹

Memorial of Prithirāj and Tāra Bāi.—On quitting the temple of Mama Devi, my attention was attracted by a simple monumental shrine on the opposite side of the valley, and almost in the gorge of the pass. It was most happily situated, being quite isolated, overlooking the road leading to Marwar, and consisted of a simple dome of very moderate dimensions, supported by columns, without any intervening object to obstruct the view of the little monumental altar arising out of the centre of the platform. It was the Sybilline temple of Tivoli in miniature. To it, over rock and ruin, I descended. Here repose the ashes of the Troubadour of Mewar, the gallant Prithiraj and his heroic wife, Tara Bai, whose lives and exploits fill many a page of the legendary romances of Mewar.

This fair 'star' (*tara*) was the daughter of Rao Surthan, late chieftain of Badnor. He was of the Solanki tribe, the lineal descendant of the famed Balhara kings of Anhilwara. Thence expelled by the arms of Ala in the thirteenth century, they migrated to Central India, and obtained possession of Tonk, Toda and its lands on the Banas, which from remote times had been occupied (perhaps founded) by the Taks, and hence bore the name of Taksilanagar, familiarly Takatpur and Toda. Surthan had been deprived of Toda by Lila the Afghan, and now

¹ These people assert their Coptic origin: being driven from Egypt by one of the Pharaohs, they wandered eastwards till they arrived under the peak of the mountains west of the Indus called Sulaiman-i-koh, or 'Hill of Solomon,' where they halted. Others draw their descent from the lost tribes. They are a very marked race, and as unsettled as their forefathers, serving everywhere. They are fine gallant men, and, when managed by such officers as Skinner, make excellent and orderly soldiers; but they evince great contempt for the eaters of swine, who are their abomination. [The Rohillas, 'Highlanders,' are a Pathān tribe which occupied Rohilkhand after the death of Aurangzeb, A.D. 1707 (Crooke, *Tribes and Castes N.W.P. and Oudh*, iv. 165 f.).]

² From the ruins of its temples, remnants of Takshak architecture, the amateur might speedily fill a portfolio. This tract abounds with romantic scenery: Rajmahall on the Banas, Gokaran, and many others. Herbert calls Chitor the abode of Taxiles, the ally of Alexander. The Taks were all of the race of Puru, so that Porus is a generic, not a proper name. This Taksilanagar has been a large city. We owe thanks to the Emperor Babur, who has given us the position of the city of Taxiles, where Alexander left it, west of the Indus. [The Tāk tribe had no connexion with Chitor.]

occupied Badnor at the foot of the Aravalli, within the bounds of Mewar. Stimulated by the reverses of her family, and by the incentives of its ancient glory, Tara Bai, scorning the habiliments and occupations of her sex, learned to guide the war-horse, and throw with unerring aim the arrow from his back, even while at need. Armed with the bow and quiver, and mounted on a fiery Gathiawar, she joined the cavalcade in their unsuccessful attempts to wrest Toda from the Afghan. Jaimall, the third son of Rana Raemall, in person made proposals for her hand. "Redeem Toda," said the star of Badnor, "and my hand is mine." He assented to the terms: but evincing a rude determination to be possessed of the prize ere he had earned it, he was vain by the indignant father. Prithiraj, the brother of the deceased, was then in exile in Marwar; he had just signalized valour, and ensured his father's forgiveness, the redemption of Godwar,¹ and the [674] catastrophe at Badnor determined him to accept the gage thrown down to Jaimall. Fame and the sword had carried the renown of Prithiraj far beyond the bounds of Mewar; the name alone was attractive to the fair, and when thereto he who bore it added all the chivalrous ardour of his prototype, the Chauhan, Tara Bai, with the sanction of her father, consented to be his, on the simple asseveration that "he would restore to them Toda, or he was no true Rajput." The anniversary of the martyrdom of the sons of Ali was the season chosen for the exploit.² Prithiraj formed a select band of five hundred cavaliers, and accompanied by his bride, the fair Tara, who insisted on partaking his glory and his danger, he reached Toda at the moment the *ta'aziya* or bier containing the martyr-brothers was placed in the centre of the *chawk* or 'square.' The prince, Tara Bai, and the faithful Sengar chief, the inseparable companion of Prithiraj, left their cavalcade and joined the procession as it passed under the balcony of the palace in which the Afghan was putting on his dress preparatory to descending. Just as he had asked who were the strange horsemen that had joined the throng, he lance of Prithiraj and an arrow from the bow of his Amazonian bride stretched him on the floor. Before the crowd recovered from the panic, the three had reached the gate of the town, where their exit was obstructed by an elephant. Tara Bai with her

¹ See p. 344 [Vol. I.].

² [The Muharram festival.]

scimitar divided his trunk, and the animal flying, they joined their cavalcade, which was close at hand.

The Afghans were encountered, and could not stand the attack. Those who did not fly were cut to pieces; and the gallant Prithiraj inducted the father of his bride into his inheritance. A brother of the Afghans, in his attempt to recover it, lost his life. The Nawab Mallu Khan then holding Ajmer determined to oppose the Sesodia prince in person; who, resolved upon being the assailant, advanced to Ajmer, encountered his foe in the camp at daybreak, and after great slaughter entered Garh Bitli, the citadel, with the fugitives. "By these acts," says the chronicle, "his fame increased in Rajwara: one thousand Rajputs, animated by the same love of glory and devotion, gathered round the *nakkaras* of Prithiraj. Their swords shone in the heavens, and were dreaded on the earth; but they aided the defenceless."

Another story is recorded and confirmed by Muhammadan writers as to the result, though they are ignorant of the impulse which prompted the act. Prithiraj on some [675] occasion found the Rana conversing familiarly with an ahadi¹ of the Malwa king, and feeling offended at the condescension, expressed himself with warmth. The Rana ironically replied: "You are a mighty seizer of kings; but for me, I desire to retain my land." Prithiraj abruptly retired, collected his band, made for Nimach, where he soon gathered five thousand horse, and reaching Dipalpur, plundered it, and slew the governor. The king on hearing of the irruption left Mandu at the head of what troops he could collect; but the Rajput prince, in lieu of retreating, rapidly advanced and attacked the camp while refreshing after the march. Singling out the royal tent, occupied by eunuchs and females, the king was made captive, and placed on an express camel beside the prince, who warned the pursuers to follow peaceably, or he would put his majesty to death; adding that he intended him no harm, but that after having made him "touch his father's feet," he should restore him to liberty. Having carried him direct to Chitor and to his father's presence, he turned to him saying, "Send for your friend the ahadi, and ask

¹ [Ahadi, 'single, alone,' like our warrant-officer, a gentleman trooper in the Mughal service, so called because they offered their services singly, and did not attach themselves to any chief (*Āīn*, i. 20, note; Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, 43).]

him who this is?" The Malwa king was detained a month within the walls of Chitor, and having paid his ransom in horses, was set at liberty with every demonstration of honour.¹ Prithiraj returned to Kumbhalmer, his residence, and passed his life in exploits like these from the age of fourteen to twenty-three, the admiration of the country and the theme of the bard.

It could not be expected that long life would be the lot of one who thus courted distinction, though it was closed neither by shot nor sabre, but by poison, when on the eve of prosecuting his unnatural feud against his brother Sanga, the place of whose retreat was made known by his marriage with the daughter of the chieftain of Srinagar, who had dared to give him protection in defiance of his threats.

At the same time he received a letter from his sister, written in great grief, complaining of the barbarous treatment of her lord, the Sirohi prince, from whose tyranny she begged to be delivered and to be restored to the paternal roof; since whenever he had indulged too freely in the 'essence of the flower,' or in opium, he used to place her under the bedstead, and leave her to sleep on the floor. Prithiraj instantly departed, reached Sirohi at midnight, scaled the palace, and interrupted the repose of Pabhu Rao by placing his poniard at his throat. His wife, notwithstanding his cruelty, complied with his humiliating appeal for mercy, and begged his life, which was granted on condition of his standing as a suppliant with his wife's [676] shoes on his head, and touching her feet, the lowest mark of degradation. He obeyed, was forgiven, and embraced by Prithiraj, who became his guest during five days. Pabhu Rao was celebrated for a confection, of which he presented some to his brother at parting. He partook of it as he came in sight of Kumbhalmer; but on reaching the shrine of Mama Devi was unable to proceed. Here he sent a message to the fair Tara to come and bid him farewell; but so subtle was the poison, that death had overtaken him ere she descended from the citadel. Her resolution was soon formed; the pyre was erected, and with the mortal remains of the chivalrous Prithiraj in her embrace, she sought "the regions of the sun."

¹ [This is the Rājput story which lacks confirmation from Muhammadan sources. The captive may have been Ghiyāsū-d-dīn of Mālwa, or Muzaffar Shāh of Gujarāt; but it is probably fiction invented by the Mewār bards (Erskine ii. A. 18).]

Such the end of the Sesodia prince, and the star of Badnor. From such instances we must form our opinion of the manners of these people. But for the poisoned confection of the chief of Sirohi, Prithiraj would have had the glory of opposing himself to Babur, instead of his heroic brother and successor, Sanga.¹ Whether, from his superior ardour of temperament, and the love of military glory which attracted similarly constituted minds to his fortunes, he would have been more successful than his brother, it is futile to conjecture.

The Frontier of Mār wār.—October 20.—Halted till noon, that the men might dress their dinners, and prepare for the descent into “the region of death,” or Marwar. The pass by which we had to gain it was represented as terrific; but as both horse and elephant, with the aid of the hatchet, will pick their way wherever man can go, we determined to persevere. Struck the camp at noon, when the baggage filed off, halting ourselves till three; the escort and advanced tents, and part of the cuisine being ordered to clear the pass, while we designed to spend the night midway, in a spot forming the natural boundary of Mewar and Marwar, reported to be sufficiently capacious. Rumour had not magnified the difficulties of the descent, which we found strewn with our baggage, arresting all progress for a full hour. For nearly a mile there was but just breadth sufficient to admit the passage of a loaded elephant, the descent being at an angle of 55° with the horizon, and streams on either side rushing with a deafening roar over their rugged beds. As we gained a firmer footing at the base of this first descent, we found that the gallant Manika, the gift of my friend the Bundi prince, had missed his footing and rolled down the steep, breaking the cantle of the saddle; a little farther appeared the cook, hanging in dismay over the scattered implements of his art, his camel remonstrating against the [677] replacing of his *kajavas* or panniers. For another mile it became more gentle, when we passed under a tower of Kumbhalmer, erected on a scarped projection of the rock, full five hundred feet above us. The scenery was magnificent; the mountains rising on each side in every variety of form, and their summits, as they caught a ray of the departing sun, reflecting on our sombre path a momentary gleam from the masses of rose-coloured quartz which crested them. Noble

¹ See Annals, p. 353.

forest trees covered every face of the hills and the bottom of the glen, through which, along the margin of the serpentine torrent which we repeatedly crossed, lay our path. Notwithstanding all our mishaps, partly from the novelty and grandeur of the scene, and partly from the invigorating coolness of the air, our mirth became wild and clamorous : a week before I was oppressed with a thousand ills ; and now I trudged the rugged path, leaping the masses of granite which had rolled into the torrent.

There was one spot where the waters formed a pool or *dah*. Little Carey determined to trust to his pony to carry him across, but deviating to the left, just as I was leaping from a projecting ledge, to my horror, horse and rider disappeared. The shock was momentary, and a good ducking the only result, which in the end was the luckiest thing that could have befallen him. On reaching the Hathidarra, or 'barrier of the elephant' (a very appropriate designation for a mass of rock serving as a rampart to shut up the pass), where we had intended to remain the night, we found no spot capacious enough even for a single tent. Orders accordingly passed to the rear for the baggage to collect there, and wait the return of day to continue the march. The shades of night were fast descending, and we proceeded almost in utter darkness towards the banks of the stream, the roar of whose waters was our guide, and not a little perplexed by the tumultuous rush which issued from every glen, to join that we were seeking. Towards the termination of the descent the path became wider, and the voice of the waters of a deeper and hoarser tone, as they glided to gain the plains of Marwar. The vault of heaven, in which there was not a cloud, appeared as an arch to the perpendicular cliffs surrounding us on all sides, and the stars beamed with peculiar brilliancy from the confined space through which we viewed them. As we advanced in perfect silence, fancy busily at work on what might befall our straggling retinue from the ferocious tiger or plundering mountaineer, a gleam of light suddenly flashed upon us on emerging from the brushwood, and disclosed a party of dismounted cavaliers seated round their night-fires under some magnificent fig-trees [678].¹

Meeting with the Mers.—Halted, and called a council of war to determine our course : we had gained the spot our guides had assigned as the only fitting one for bivouac before we reached the

¹ The bar or banyan tree, *Ficus Indica*.

plains beyond the mountains ; it afforded shade from the dews and plenty of water. The *munitions de bouche* having gone off, was a good argument that we should follow ; but darkness and five miles more of intricate forest, through a path from which the slightest deviation, right or left, might lead us into the jaws of a tiger, or the toils of the equally savage Mer, decided us to halt. We now took another look at the group above-mentioned. Though the excitement of the morning was pretty well chilled by cold and hunger (poor sharpeners of the imagination), it was impossible to contemplate the scene before us without a feeling of the highest interest. From twenty-five to thirty tall figures, armed at all points, were sitting or reposing in groups round their watch-fires, conversing and passing the pipe from hand to hand, while their long black locks, and motley-fashioned turbans, told that they belonged to Marudesa. A rude altar, raised in honour of some "gentle blood" shed by the murky mountaineer, served as a place of rest for the chief of the party, distinguished by the gold band in his turban, and his deer-skin doublet. I gave the usual salutation of "Rama, Rama," to the chief and his party, and inquired after the health of their chieftain of Ghanerao, to whose courtesy I found I owed this mark of attention. This was the boundary between the two States of Marwar and Mewar, since the district of Godwar was lost by the latter about fifty years ago. The spot has been the scene of many a conflict, and a closer approach disclosed several other altars raised in honour of the slain ; each represented a cavalier mounted on his war-steed, with his lance poised, denoting that in such attitude he fell in defending the pass, or redeeming the cattle from the plundering mountain Mer. A square tablet placed on each contained the date on which he gained "the mansions of the sun." Midnight being past, and bringing no hope of our appetites growing by what they might feed upon, Dr. Duncan and Captain Waugh took the *jhul*, or broadcloth-housing, from the elephant, and rolling themselves in it, followed the example of the chieftain and reposed upon the ashes of the brave, on an altar adjoining the one he occupied. I soon left them in happy forgetfulness of tigers, Meras, hunger, and all the fatigues of the day, and joined the group to listen to the tale with which they enlivened the midnight hour. This I can repeat, but it would have required the pencil of a master to paint the scene. It was a subject for

salvator Rosa; though I should [679] have been perfectly satisfied with one of Captain Waugh's delineations, had he been disposed at that moment to exert the pictorial art. Several of my friends had encountered the mountaineer on this very spot; and these humble cenotaphs, covering the ashes of their kin, recalled events not likely to be repeated in these halcyon days, when the names of Bhil and Mer cease to be the synonyms of plunderer. As there may be no place more appropriate for a sketch of the mountaineers, the reader may transport himself to the glen of Kumbhalmer, and listen to the history of one of the aboriginal tribes of Rajasthan [680].

CHAPTER 26

The Mer Tribe.—The Mer or Mera is the mountaineer of Rajputana, and the country he inhabits is styled Merwara, or 'the region of hills.' The epithet is therefore merely local, for the Mer is but a branch of the Mina or Maina, one of the aborigines of India. He is also called Merot and Merawat; but these terminations only more correctly define his character of mountaineer.¹ Merwara is that portion of the Aravalli chain between Kumbhalmer and Ajmer, a space of about ninety miles in length, and varying in breadth from six to twenty. The general character of this magnificent rampart, in the natural and physical geography of Rajputana, is now sufficiently familiar. It rises from three to four thousand feet above the level of the sea, and abounds with a variety of natural productions. In short, I know no portion of the globe which would yield to the scientific traveller more abundant materials for observation than the alpine Aravalli. The architectural antiquary might fill his portfolio, and natural history would receive additions to her page in every department,

¹ *Meru* is 'a [fabulous] mountain' in Sanskrit; Merawat and Merot, 'of or belonging to the mountain.' I have before remarked that the name of the Albanian mountaineer, Mainote, has the same signification. I know not the etymology of *Mina*, of which the Mer is a branch. [Needless to say, whatever the meaning of the title Mer may be, it has no connexion with Mt. Meru. The traditions of the Mers point to Mina ancestry. For the Mina tribe see Rose, *Glossary*, iii. 102 ff.; Watson, *Rajputāna Gazetteer*, i. A. 29 ff.]

and especially in botany and zoology.¹ I [681] should know no higher gratification than to be of a scientific party to anatomize completely this important portion of India. I would commence on the Gujarat, and finish on the Shaikhawat frontier. The party should consist of a skilful surveyor, to lay down on a large scale a topographical chart of the mountains; several gentlemen thoroughly versed in natural history; able architectural and landscape draughtsmen, and the antiquary to transcribe ancient inscriptions, as well as to depict the various races. The "Aravalli delineated," by the hand of science, would form a most instructive and delightful work.

A minute account of the Mer, his habits and his history, would be no unimportant feature: but as this must be deferred, I will, in the meanwhile, furnish some details to supply the void.

The Mers are a branch of the Chitas, an important division of the Minas.² I shall elsewhere enter at large into the history of this race, which consists of as many branches as their conquerors, the Rajputs. All these wild races have the vanity to mingle their pedigree with that of their conquerors, though in doing so they stigmatize themselves. The Chita-Minas accordingly claim descent from a grandson of the last Chauhan emperor of Delhi. Anhil and Anup were the sons of Lakha, the nephew of the Chauhan king. The coco-nut was sent from Jaisalmer, offering princesses of that house in marriage: but an investigation into their maternal ancestry disclosed that they were the issue of a

¹ I had hoped to have embodied these subjects with, and thereby greatly to have increased the interest, of my work; but just as Lord Hastings had granted my request, that an individual eminently qualified for those pursuits should join me, a Higher Power deemed it fit to deny what had been long near my heart.

The individual, John Tod, was a cousin of my own, and possessed an intellect of the highest order. He was only twenty-two years of age when he died, and had only been six months in India. He was an excellent classical scholar, well versed in modern languages and every branch of natural history. His manners, deportment, and appearance were all in unison with these talents. Had it pleased the Almighty to have spared him, this work would have been more worthy of the public notice. [An officer named Tod was murdered at Nāhar Magra, near Udaipur, in May 1804 (*Malcolm, Memoir Central India*, 2nd ed. i. 237).]

² [The Mers are supposed to be a foreign tribe, like the Gurjaras and Malavas, which passed into Kāthiāwār through the Panjāb, Sind, and N. Gujarāt (*BG*, i. Part i. 136 ff.; *Elliot-Dowson* i. 519 ff.).]

Mina concubine : and their birth being thus revealed, they became exiles from Ajmer, and associates with their maternal relatives.

Anhul espoused the daughter of a Mina chieftain, by whom he had Chita, whose descendants enjoy almost a monopoly of power in Merwara. The sons of Chita, who occupied the northern frontier near Ajmer, became Muhammadans about fifteen generations ago, when Duda, the sixteenth from the founder of the race, was created Dawad Khan by the Hakim of Ajmer ; and as Hathun was his residence, the " Khan of Hathun " signified the chief of the Merots. Chang, Jhak, and Rajosi are the principal towns adjoining Hathun. Anup also took a Mina wife, by whom he had Barar, whose descendants have continued true [682] to their original tenets. Their chief places are Barar, Berawara, Mandila, etc. Though the progeny of these Minas may have been improved by the infusion of Rajput blood, they were always notorious for their lawless habits, and for the importance attached to them so far back as the period of Bisaldeo, the celebrated prince of Ajmer, whom the bard Chand states to have reduced them to submission, making them " carry water in the streets of Ajmer." Like all mountaineers, they of course broke out whenever the hands of power were feeble. In the battle between the Chauhans of Ajmer and the Parihars of Mandor, a body of four thousand Mer bowmen served Nahar Rao, and defended the pass of the Aravalli against Prithiraj in this his first essay in arms. Chand thus describes them : ¹ " Where hill joins hill, the Mer and Mina thronged. The Mandor chief commanded that the pass should be defended—four thousand heard and obeyed, each in form as the angel of death—men who never move without the omen, whose arrow never flies in vain—with frames like Indra's bolt—faithful to their word, preservers of the land and the honour ² of Mandor ; whose fortresses have to this day remained unconquered—who bring the spoils of the plains to their dwellings. Of these in the dark recesses of the mountains four thousand lay concealed, their crescent-formed arrows beside them. Like the envenomed serpent, they wait in silence the advance of the foe.

¹ I cannot discover by what part of the range the invasion of Mandor was attempted ; it might have been the pass we are now in, for it is evident it was not from the frontier of Ajmer.

² *Laj* is properly 'shame,' which word is always used in lieu of honour : *laj rakho*, 'preserve my shame,' i.e. my honour from shame.

Prithirāj attacks the Mers.—“Tidings reached the Chauhan that the manly Mina, with bow in hand, stood in the mountain’s gorge. Who would be bold enough to force it? his rage was like the hungry lion’s when he views his prey. He called the brave Kana, and bade him observe those wretches as he commanded him to clear the pass. Bowing he departed, firm as the rock on which he trod. He advanced, but the mountaineer (Mer) was immovable as Sumeru. Their arrows, carrying death, fly like Indra’s bolts—they obscure the sun. Warriors fall from their steeds, resounding in their armour as a tree torn up by the blast. Kana quits the steed; hand to hand he encounters the foe; the feathery shafts, as they strike fire, appear like birds escaping from the flames. The lance flies through the breast, appearing at the back [683], like a fish escaping through the meshes of a net. The evil spirits dance in the mire of blood. The hero of the mountain¹ encountered Kana, and his blow made him reel; but like lightning it was returned, and the mountaineer fell: the crash was as the shaking of Sumeru. At this moment Nahar arrived, roaring like a tiger for his prey: he called aloud to revenge their chief, his brother,² and fresh vigour was infused into their souls. On the fall of the mountain-chief, the Chauhan commanded the ‘hymn of triumph’³ to be sounded; it startled the mountaineer, but only to nerve his soul afresh. In person the Chauhan sought his foe. The son of Somesa is a bridegroom. His streaming standards flutter like the first falls of rain in Asarh, and as he steps on the bounds which separate Mandor from Ajmer, ‘Victory! victory!’ is proclaimed. Still the battle rages. Elephants roar, horses neigh, terror stalks everywhere. The aids of Girnar⁴ and of Sind now appeared for Mandor, bearing banners of every colour, varied as the flowers of the spring. Both arrays were clad in mail; their eyes and their finger-nails alone were exposed; each invoked his tutelary protector as he wielded the *dodhara*.⁵ Prithiraj was refulgent as Indra: the Parihar’s brightness was as the morning star; each was clad in armour of proof, immovable as gods in mortal form. The sword of the Chauhan descended on the steed of the Parihar;

¹ Parbat Vira.

² The Parihar prince bestowed this epithet merely in compliment.

³ *Sindhu Raga*.

⁴ [The sacred Jain mountain in Kāthiāwār.]

⁵ With two (*do*) edges (*dhara*).

but as he fell, Nahar sprung erect, and they again darted on each other, their warriors forming a fortress around the persons of their lords. Then advanced the standards of the Pramara, like a black rolling cloud, while the lightnings flashed from his sword. Mohana, the brother of Mandor, received him; they first examined each other—then joining in the strife, the helm of the Pramara was cleft in twain. Now advanced Chawand, the Dahima; he grasped his iron lance,¹—it pierced the Parihar, and the head appeared like a serpent looking through the door in his back. The flame (*jyot*) united with the fire from which it sprung, while the body fell on its parent earth. By his devotion the sins of his life were forgiven. Nobly did the tiger (Nahar) of Mandor meet the lion of the world. He called aloud, ‘Hold your ground as did Bal Raja of old.’ Again the battle rages—Durga gluts herself with blood [684]—the air resounds with the clash of arms and the rattling of banners—the Aswar² rains on the foe—Khetral³ sports in the field of blood—Mahadeva fills his necklace—the eagle gluts itself on the slain—the mien of the warriors expands as does the lotos at the sunbeam—the war-song resounds—with a branch of the tulasi on the helm, adorned in the saffron robe, the warriors on either side salute each other.” The bard here exclaims, “But why should I enlarge on this encounter?”—but as this digression is merely for breathing time, we shall not follow him, the object being to introduce the mountain Mer, whom we now see *hors de combat*.

Character of the Mers.—Admitting the exaggeration of the poet, the Mer appears to have been in the twelfth century what he is in the nineteenth, a bold, licentious marauder. He maintained himself throughout the whole of the Mogul domination, alternately succumbing and depredating; and since the Mahrattas crippled these countries, the Mer had regained all his consequence, and was rapidly encroaching upon his Rajput suzerain. But when in 1821 their excesses made it imperative to reduce their holds and fastnesses, they made no stand against the three battalions of sepoys sent against them, and the whole tract was

¹ *Sang* is the iron lance, either wholly of iron, or having plates for about ten feet; these weapons are much used in combats from camels in the Desert.

² ‘Sword’—*Aswar* in the dialect.

³ [The field guardian deity.]

compelled to obedience ; not, however, till many of the descendants of Chita and Barar had suffered both in person and property.¹ The facility with which we reduced to entire subjection this extensive association of plunderers, for centuries the terror of these countries, occasioned no little astonishment to our allies. The resistance was indeed contemptible, and afforded a good argument against the prowess of those who had tolerated the existence of a gang at once so mischievous and weak. But this was leaping to a conclusion without looking beneath the surface, or to the moral and political revolution which enervated the arms of Mer and Mahratta, Pindari and Pathan. All rose to power from the common occupation of plunderers, aided by the national jealousies of the Rajputs. If the chieftains of Mewar leagued to assault the mountaineers, they found refuge and support in Marwar ; and as their fortresses at all times presented a sanctuary, their Rawats or leaders obtained consequence amongst all parties by granting it. Every Mer community, accordingly, had a perfect understanding with the chieftain whose lands were contiguous to their own, and who enjoyed rights granted by the Rana over these nominal subjects. These rights were all of a feudal nature, as *rakhwali* or ' blackmail ' [685], and those petty proofs of subordination, entitled in the feudal law of Europe "petit serjanterie." The token might be a colt, a hawk, or a bullock, and a *nazarana*, or pecuniary acknowledgement, perhaps only of half-a-crown on the chieftain's birthday, or on the Rajput Saturnalia, the Holi. But all these petty causes for assimilation between the Rajput and the lawless Mer were overlooked, as well as the more powerful one which rendered his arms of no avail. Every door was hermetically sealed against him ; wherever he looked he saw a foe—the magical change bewildered him ; and when their Khan and his adherents were assailed while in fancied security, and cut off in a midnight attack, his self-confidence was annihilated—he saw a red-coat in every glen, and called aloud for mercy.

The Merwāra Battalion.—A corps of these mountaineers, commanded by English officers, has since been formed, and I have no doubt may become useful.² Notwithstanding their lawless

¹ [For an account of the Mer rebellion in 1820 and its suppression see Watson, *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, i. A. 14.]

² [The 14th Merwāra Infantry, formerly known as the Merwāra Battalion,

habits, they did not neglect agriculture and embanking, as described in the valley of Shera Nala, and a district has been formed in Merwara which in time may yield a lakh of rupees annually to the state.

Marriage Customs.—Some of their customs are so curious, and so different from those of their lowland neighbours, that we may mention a few. Leaving their superstitions as regards omens and auguries, the most singular part of their habits, till we give a detailed sketch of the Minas hereafter, I will notice the peculiarity of their notions towards females. The Mer, following the customary law handed down from his rude ancestry, and existing long before the written law of Manu, has no objection to a widow as a wife. This contract is termed *nata*, and his civilized master levies a fine or fee of a rupee and a quarter for the licence, termed *kagli*. On such marriage the bridegroom must omit in the *maur*, or nuptial coronet, the graceful palmyra leaf, and substitute a small branch of the sacred pipal wreathed in his turban. Many of the forms are according to the common Hindu ritual. The *sat-phera*, or seven perambulations round the jars filled with grain, piled over each other—the *ganth-jora*, or uniting the garments—and the *hathlewa*, or junction of hands of bride and bridegroom, are followed by the Mers. Even the northern clans, who are converts to Islam, return to their ancient habits on this occasion, and have a Brahman priest to officiate. I discovered, on inquiring into the habits of the Mers, that they are not the only race which did not refuse to wed a widow, and that both Brahmans and Rajputs have from ancient times been accustomed not to consider it derogatory [686].¹ Of the former, the sacerdotal class, the Nagda² Brahmans, established at this town long before the Guhilots obtained power in Mewar. Of the Rajputs, they are all of the most ancient tribes, now the allodial vassals or Bhumias of Rajputana, as the Chinana, Kharwar, Uten, Daya, names better known in the mystic page of the

formed in 1822, did good service in the Mutiny of 1857, and in the Afghān campaign of 1878 (Watson, *Gazetteer*, i. A. 119 ff.; Cardew, *Sketch of the Services of the Bengal Native Army*, 338 ff.).

¹ [No class of Brāhmans or Rājputs, claiming respectability, now permits widow marriage.]

² [Nāgda, near the shrine of Eklingji, one of the most ancient places in Mewār.]

chronicle than now, though occasionally met with in the valleys of the Aravalli. But this practice, so little known, gives rise to an opinion, that many of the scrupulous habits regarding women are the inventions of the priests of more modern days. The facilities for separation are equally simple. If tempers do not assimilate, or other causes prompt them to part, the husband tears a shred from his turban, which he gives to his wife, and with this simple bill of divorce, placing two jars filled with water on her head, she takes whatever path she pleases, and the first man who chooses to ease her of her load becomes her future lord. This mode of divorce is practised not only amongst all the Minas, but by Jats, Gujars, Ahirs, Malis, and other Sudra tribes. *Jehar le aur nikali*, 'took the jar and went forth,' is a common saying amongst the mountaineers of Merwara.

Oaths, Food, Omens.—Their invocations and imprecations are peculiar. The Chita or northern Mer, since he became acquainted with the name of the prophet, swears by 'Allah,' or by his first proselyte ancestor, 'Duda Dawad Khan,' or the still more ancient head of the races, '*Chita, Barar ka an.*' The southern Mers also use the latter oath: "By my allegiance to Chita and Barar"; and they likewise swear by the sun, '*Suraj ka Sagun,*' and '*Nath ka Sagun*'; or their ascetic priest, called the Nath. The Muhammadan Mer will not now eat hog; the southron refuses nothing, though he respects the cow from the prejudices of those around him, and to please the Nath or Jogi, his spiritual guide. The partridge and the *maloli*,¹ or wag-tail, are the chief birds of omen with him, and the former 'clamouring' on the left, when he commences a foray, is a certain presage of success. To conclude; colonies of the Mers or Meras will be found as far north as the Chambal, and even in the peninsula of Saurashtra. Merwara is now in subjection to the Rana of Mewar, who has erected small forts amidst the most influential communities to overawe them. The whole tract has been assessed; the chiefs of the districts being brought to the Rana's presence presented *nazarana*, swore fidelity, and received according to their rank gold bracelets or turbans. It was an era in the annals of Mewar to see the accumulated arms of Merwara piled upon the [687] terrace of the palace at the capital; but these measures were subsequent to our sojourn

¹ [Elsewhere known as Khanjarit or Khanjan, a well-known bird of omen.]

in the glen of Kumbhalmer, from which we have yet to issue to gain Marwar.

The Chief of Gokulgarh.—*October 21.*—All hailed the return of daylight with reverence. Captain Waugh and the Doctor uncoiled from the elephant's *jhul*, and I issued from my palki, which had proved a welcome retreat against the chills of the night air. By thirst and hunger our appetite for the picturesque was considerably abated, and the contemplation of the spot where we had bivouaced in that philosophical spirit of silence, which all have experienced who have made a long march before breakfast, lost much of its romantic interest. Nevertheless, could I have consulted merely my own wishes, I would have allowed my friends and escort to follow the canteen, and have pursued an intricate path which branched off to the right, to have had the chance of an interview with the outlaw of Gokulgarh.

This petty chieftain, who enjoyed the distinctive epithet of outlaw (*barwattia*), was of the Sonigira clan (a branch of the Chauhans), who for centuries were the lords of Jalor. He was a vassal of Marwar, now sovereign of Jalor, and being expelled for his turbulence by his prince, he had taken post in the old ruined castle of Gokulgarh, on a cliff of the Aravalli, and had become the terror of the country. By his knowledge of the intricacies of the mountains, he eluded pursuit; and his misdeeds being not only connived at, but his spoils participated by the chief of Deogarh, in whose fief was his haunt, he was under no apprehension of surprise. Inability either to seize the Barwattia, or drive him from his retreat, formed a legitimate excuse for the resumption of Gokulgarh, and the dues of 'blackmail' he derived from its twelve dependent villages. The last act of the Sonigira was most flagrant; he intercepted in the plains of Godwar a marriage procession, and made captives the bridegroom and bridé, whom he conveyed to Gokulgarh, where they long languished for want of ransom. A party was formed to lie in wait for him; but he escaped the snare, and his retreat was found empty. Such was the state of society in these districts. The form of outlawry is singular in this country, where the penal laws are satisfied with banishment, even in cases of treason, instead of the sanguinary law of civilization. The criminal against whom the sentence of exile is pronounced being called into his prince's presence, is clad in black vestments, and placed

upon a black steed, his arms and shield all of the same sombre hue of mourning and [688] disgrace ; he is then left to gain the frontier by himself. This custom is very ancient : the Pandu brothers were ' Barwatias ' ¹ from the Jumna three thousand years ago. The Jaisalmer annals relate the solemnity as practised towards one of their own princes ; and the author, in the domestic dissensions of Kotah, received a letter from the prince, wherein he demands either that his rights should be conceded, or that the government would bestow the " black garment," and leave him to his fate.

The Chief of Ghānērāo.—Conversing on these and similar subjects with my Marwari friends, we threaded our way for five miles through the jungles of the pass, which we had nearly cleared, when we encountered the chieftain of Ghanerao at the head of his retinue, who of his own accord, and from a feeling of respect to his ancient sovereign the Rana, advanced thus far to do me honour. I felt the compliment infinitely the more, as it displayed that spirit of loyalty peculiar to the Rajput, though the step was dangerous with his jealous sovereign, and ultimately was prejudicial to him. After dismounting and embracing, we continued to ride to the tents, conversing on the past history of the province, of his prince, and the Rana, after whom he affectionately inquired. Ajit Singh is a noble-looking man, about thirty years of age, tall, fair, and sat his horse like a brave Rathor cavalier. Ghanerao is the chief town of Godwar, with the exception of the commercial Pali, and the garrison-post Desuri. From this important district the Rana could command four thousand Rathors holding lands on the tenure of service, of whom the Ghanerao chief, then one of the sixteen nobles of Mewar, was the head. Notwithstanding the course of events had transferred the province, and consequently his services, from the Rana of Udaipur to the Raja of Jodhpur, so difficult is it to eradicate old feelings of loyalty and attachment, that the present Thakur preferred having the sword of investiture bound on him by his ancient and yet nominal suzerain, rather than by his actual sovereign. For this undisguised mark of feeling, Ghanerao was denuded of its walls, which were levelled to the ground ; a perpetual memento of disgrace and an incentive to vengeance : and whenever the day arrives that the Rana's herald may salute him with the old motto,

¹ This term is a compound of *bāhar* and *watn*, literally ' ex patria.'

“Remember Kumbhalmer,” he will not be deaf to the call. To defend this post was the peculiar duty of his house, and often have his ancestors bled in maintaining it against the Mogul. Even now [689], such is the inveteracy with which the Rajput clings to his honours, that whenever the Ghanerao chief, or any of his near kin, attend the Rana’s court, he is saluted at the porte, or at the *champ de Mars*, by a silver mace-bearer from the Rana, with the ancient war-cry, “Remember Kumbhalmer,” and he still receives on all occasions of rejoicing a *khilat* from that prince. He has to boast of being of the Rana’s blood, and is by courtesy called “the nephew of Mewar.” The Thakur politely invited me to visit him ; but I was aware that compliance would have involved him in difficulties with his jealous prince, and made excuses of fatigue, and the necessity of marching next morning, the motives of which he could not misunderstand.

Our march this morning was but short, and the last two miles were in the plains of Marwar, with merely an occasional rock. Carey joined us, congratulating himself on the ducking which had secured him better fare than we had enjoyed in the pass of Kumbhalmer, and which fastened both on Waugh and myself violent colds. The atmospheric change was most trying : emerging from the cold breezes of the mountains to 96° of Fahrenheit, the effect was most injurious : it was 58° in the morning of our descent into the glen. Alas ! for my surviving barometer ! Mahesh, my amanuensis, who had been entrusted with it, joined us next day, and told me the quicksilver had contrived to escape ; so I lost the opportunity of comparing the level of the desert with the plains of Marwar.

The Chief of Rūpnagar.—*October 27.*—Halted to collect the scattered baggage, and to give the men rest ; the day was nearly over before the whole came up, each party bringing lamentable reports of the disastrous descent. I received a visit from the chief of Rupnagar, who, like the Thakur of Ghanerao, owes a divided allegiance to the courts on each side the mountains. His castle, which gives him rank as one of the most conspicuous of the second grade of the Rana’s nobles, was visible from the camp, being placed on the western face of the mountains, and commanding a difficult passage across them. From thence he looks down upon Desuri and his ancient patrimony, now transferred with Godwar to the Rathor prince ; and often has he

measured his lance with the present occupants to retain his ancient *bhum*, the right derived from the cultivating proprietor of the soil. The chief of Rupnagar is of the Solanki race, a lineal descendant of the sovereigns of Nahrwala, and the inheritor [690] of the war-shell of the celebrated monarch Siddhraj,¹ one of the most powerful who ever sat on an eastern throne, and who occupied that of Anhilwara from A.D. 1094, during half a century, celebrated as a patron of literature and the arts. When in the thirteenth century this State was destroyed, the branches found refuge, as already described, in Mewar; for the ancestor of Rupnagar was brother to the father of "the star of Badnor," and was invested with the estate and lands of Desuri by the same gallant prince who obtained her hand by the recovery of her father's estates. The anecdote is worthy of relation, as showing that the Rajput will stop at nothing "to obtain land." The intestine feuds amongst Rana Raemall's sons, and his constant warfare with the kings of Delhi and Malwa, made his authority very uncertain in Godwar. The Mina and Mer possessed themselves of lands in the plains, and were supported by the Madrecha descendant of the once independent Chauhan sovereigns of Nadol, the ancient capital of this region. Sand, the Madrecha, had obtained possession of Desuri, the garrison town. To expel him, the prince had recourse to Sada, the Solanki, whose son was married to the daughter of the Madrecha. The bribe for the reward of this treachery was to be the grant in perpetuity of Desuri and its lands. Sada's son readily entered into the scheme; and to afford facilities for its execution he went with his wife to reside at Desuri. It was long before an opportunity offered; but at length the marriage of the young Madrecha to the daughter of Sagra the Balecha was communicated to the Solanki by his son; who told his father "to watch the smoke ascending from the tower of Desuri," as the signal for the attempt to get possession. Anxiously did Sand watch from his castle of Sodhgarh the preconcerted sign, and when the volume of black smoke ascended, he rushed down from the Aravalli at the head of his retainers. The mother-in-law of the young Solanki sent to know why he should make a smoke as if he were burning a corpse, when her son must be returning with his bride. Soon she heard the clash of arms; the Solankis had entered and fired the town,

¹ He ruled from A.D. 1094 to 1143.

and the bridal party appeared before success was attained. Spears and swords were plied. “Ware the bull!” (*sand*), said the Madrecha, as he encountered his foe. “My name is the lion (*singh*) who will [691] ‘devour the bull,’” replied the Solanki. The contest was fierce, but the Madrechas were slain, and in the morn Prithiraj was put in possession of Desuri. He drew out a grant upon the spot, inserting in it a curse against any of Sesodia blood who might break the bond which had restored the Rathor authority in Godwar. Although seventeen generations have passed since this event, the feud has continued between the descendants of the lion of Sodhgarh and the bull of Desuri, though the object of dissension is alienated from both.

The Chief of Ghānērāo. The Rājputs of Mewār and Mārwar compared.—I could well have dispensed with visits this day, the thermometer being 96°; I was besides devoured with inflammatory cold; but there was no declining another polite visit of the chieftain of Ghanerao. His retinue afforded a good opportunity of contrasting the Sesodia Rajput of fertile Mewar with the Rathors of Marwar, and which on the whole would have been favourable to the latter, if we confined our view to those of the valley of Udaipur, or the mountainous region of its southern limit, where climate and situation are decidedly unfavourable. There the Rajput may be said not only to deteriorate in muscular form and strength, but in that fairness of complexion which distinguishes him from the lower orders of Hindus. But the danger of generalizing on such matters will be apparent when it is known that there is a cause continually operating to check and diminish the deteriorating principle arising from the climate and situation (or, as the Rajput would say, from the *hawa pani*, ‘air and water’) of these unhealthy tracts; namely, the continual influx of the purest blood from every region in Rajputana: and the stream which would become corrupt if only flowing from the commingling of the Chondawats of Salumbar and the Jhalas of Gogunda (both mountainous districts), is refreshed by that of the Rathors of Godwar, the Chauhans of Haraoti, or the Bhatti of the desert. I speak from conviction, the chieftains above mentioned affording proofs of the evil resulting from such repeated intermarriages; for, to use their own adage, “a raven will produce a raven.” But though the personal appearance of the chieftain of Gogunda might exclude him from the table of the

sixteen barons of Mewar, his son by a Rathor mother may be exhibited as a redeeming specimen of the Jhalas, and one in every way favourable of the Rajput of Mewar. On such occasion, also, as a formal visit, both chieftain and retainers appear under every advantage of dress and decoration ; for even the form of the turban may improve the contour of the face, though [692] the Mertias of Ghanerao have nothing so decidedly peculiar in this way as those of other clans.

After some discourse on the history of past days, with which, like every respectable Rajput, I found him perfectly conversant, the Ghanerao chief took his leave with some courteous and friendly expressions. It is after such a conversation that the mind disposed to reflection will do justice to the intelligence of these people : I do not say this with reference to the baron of Ghanerao, but taking them generally. If by history we mean the relation of events in succession, with an account of the leading incidents connecting them, then are all the Rajputs versed in this science ; for nothing is more common than to hear them detail their immediate ancestry or that of their prince for many generations, with the events which have marked their societies. It is immaterial whether he derives this knowledge from the chronicle, the chronicler, or both : it not only rescues him from the charge of ignorance, but suggests a comparison between him and those who constitute themselves judges of nationalities by no means unfavourable to the Rajput.

Godwār.—*October 28.*—Marched at daybreak. The Thakur sent a confidential vassal to accompany me through his domain. We could now look around us, as we receded from the Alpine Aravalli, with nothing to obstruct the vision, over the fertile plains of Godwar. We passed near Ghanerao, whose isolated portals, without tower or curtain to connect them, have a most humiliating appearance. It is to Raja Bhim, some twenty years ago, that their chieftains owe this degradation, in order to lessen their ability to recover the province for its ancient master the Rana. It was indeed one of the gems of his crown, as it is the only dazzling one in that of Marwar. While we marched over its rich and beautiful plains, well watered, well wooded, and abounding in fine towns, I entered into conversation with the Rana's envoy, who joined me on the march. Kishandas has already been mentioned as one of the few men of integrity and

wisdom who had been spared to be useful to his country. He was a mine of ancient lore, and his years, his situation, and his character gave force to his sentiments of determined independence. He was as quick as touchwood, which propensity occasionally created a wordy war between me and my friend, who knew my respect for him. "Restore us Godwar," was his abrupt salutation as he joined me on the march : to which, being a little vexed, as the point could not be agitated by our government, I said in reply, "Why did you [693] let them take it ?—where has the Sesodia sword slept this half century ?" Adding, "God Almighty never intended that the region on this side the mountains should belong to Mewar ;—nature's own hand has placed the limit between you." The old envoy's blood was roused as he exclaimed, "Even on this principle Godwar is ours, for nature has marked our limit by stronger features than mountains. Observe, as you advance, and you will find to the further limit of the province every shrub and flower common to Mewar ; pass that limit but a few yards, and they are lost :

" Anwal, ānwal Mewār ;
Bāwal, bāwal Mārwar.

"Wherever the anwal puts forth its yellow blossoms, the land is of right ours ; we want nothing more. Let them enjoy their stunted babuls, their karil, and the ak ; but give us back our sacred pipal, and the anwal of the border."¹ In truth, the transition is beyond credence marked : cross but a shallow brook, and you leave all that is magnificent in vegetation ; the pipal, bar, and that species of the mimosa resembling the cypress, peculiar to Godwar, are exchanged for the prickly shrubs, as the wild caper, jawas, and many others, more useful than ornamental, on which the camel browses.² The argument was, however, more ingenious than just, and the old envoy was here substituting the effect for the cause ; but he shall explain in his own words why Flora should be permitted to mark the line of demarcation instead of the rock-enthroned (*Durga*) Cybele. The legend now repeated is historical, and the leading incidents of it have already been touched upon ;³ I shall therefore condense the Pancholi's descrip-

¹ [*Anwal*, ānwa, *Phyllanthus emblica* ; *bāwal*, *babul*, *Acacia arabica* ; *karil*, *Capparis aphylla* ; *āk*, *Calotropis gigantea* ; *pīpal*, *Ficus religiosa*.]

² [*Bar*, *Ficus bengalensis* ; *jawās*, *Hedysarum alhagi*.] ³ See p. 325.

tion into a summary analysis of the cause why the couplet of the bard should be deemed "confirmation strong" of the bounds of kingdoms. These traditionary couplets, handed down from generation to generation, are the most powerful evidence of the past, and they are accordingly employed to illustrate the Khyats, or annals, of Rajputana. When, towards the conclusion of the fourteenth century, the founder of the Chondawats repaid the meditated treachery of Ranmall of Mandor by his death, he took possession of that capital and the entire country of the Rathors (then but of small extent), which he held for several years. The heir of Mandor became a fugitive, concealing himself in the fastnesses of the Aravalli, with little hope that [694] his name (Jodha) would become a patronymic, and that he would be honoured as the second founder of his country : that Mandor itself should be lost in Jodhpur. The recollection of the feud was almost extinct ; the young Rana of Chitor had passed the years of Rajput minority, and Jodha continued a fugitive in the wilds of Bhandak-parao, with but a few horse in his train, indebted to the resources of some independents of the desert for the means of subsistence. He was discovered in this retreat by a Charan or bard, who, without aspiring to prophetic powers, revealed to him that the intercession of the queen-mother of Chitor had determined the Rana to restore him to Mandor. Whether the sister of Jodha, to give éclat to the restoration, wished it to have the appearance of a conquest, or whether Jodha, impatient for possession, took advantage of circumstances to make his entrance one of triumph, and thereby redeem the disgrace of a long and humiliating exile, it is difficult to decide ; for while the annals of Mewar make the restoration an act of grace, those of Marwar give it all the colours of a triumph. Were the point worthy of discussion, we should say both accounts were correct. The Rana had transmitted the recall of Chonda from Mandor, but concealed from him the motive, and while Jodha even held in his possession the Rana's letter of restoration, a concatenation of circumstances, in which "the omen" was predominant, occurred to make him anticipate his induction by a measure more consonant to the Rajput, a brilliant *coup de main*. Jodha had left his retreat in the Run¹ to make known to Harbujī Sankhla, Pabujī, and other riev-ers

¹ An alp, or spot in these mountainous regions, where springs, pasture, and other natural conveniences exist.

of the desert, the changes which the bard had communicated. While he was there, intelligence was brought that Chonda, in obedience to his sovereign's command, had proceeded to Chitor. That same night "the bird of omen perched on Jodha's lance, and the star which irradiated his birth shone bright upon it." The bard of Mandor revealed the secret of heaven to Jodha, and the heroes in his train: "Ere that star descends in the west, your pennon will wave on the battlements of Mandor." Unless, however, this "vision of glory" was merely mental, Jodha's star must have been visible in daylight; for they could never have marched from the banks of the Luni, where the Sankhla resided, to Mandor, between its rising and setting. The elder son of Chonda had accompanied his father, and they had proceeded two coss in their [695] journey, when a sudden blaze appeared in Mandor: Chonda pursued his route, while his son Manja returned to Mandor. Jodha was already in possession; his *an* had been proclaimed, and the two other sons of Chonda had fallen in its defence. Manja, who fled, was overtaken and slain on the border. These tidings reached Chonda at the pass of the Aravalli; he instantly returned to Mandor, where he was met by Jodha, who showed him the letters of surrender for Mandor, and a command that he should fix with him the future boundary of each State. Chonda thought that there was no surer line of demarcation than that chalked out by the hand of nature; and he accordingly fixed that wherever the "yellow blossom" was found, the land should belong to his sovereign, and the bard was not slow in perpetuating the decree. Such is the origin of

Ānwal, ānwal Mewār :
Bāwal, bāwal Mārwar.

The brave and loyal founder of the Chondawats, who thus sacrificed his revenge to his sovereign's commands, had his feelings in some degree propitiated by this arrangement, which secured the entire province of Godwar to his prince: his son Manja fell, as he touched the region of the anwalas, and this cession may have been in '*mundkati*,' the compromise of the price of blood. By such traditional legends, not less true than strange, and to which the rock sculptures taken from Mandor bear evidence, even to the heroes who aided Jodha in his enterprise, the anwal of the Rajputs has been immortalized, like the humble broom of

the French, whose *planta-genesta* has distinguished the loftiest name in chivalry, the proudest race emblazoned on the page of heraldry.

Notwithstanding the crops had been gathered, this tract contrasted favourably with Mewar, although amidst a comparative prosperity we could observe the traces of rapine ; and numerous stories were rehearsed of the miseries inflicted on the people by the rapacious followers of Amir Khan. We crossed numerous small streams flowing from the Aravalli, all proceeding to join the "Salt River," or Luni. The villages were large and more populous ; yet was there a dulness, a want of that hilarity which pervaded the peasantry of Mewar, in spite of their misfortunes. The Rajputs partook of the feeling, the cause of which a little better acquaintance with their headquarters soon revealed. Mewar had passed through the period [696] of reaction, which in Marwar was about to display itself, and was left unfortunately to its own control, or with only the impulse of a long suppressed feeling of revenge in the bosom of its prince, and the wiles of a miscreant minister, who wished to keep him in durance, and the country in degradation.

Nādol.—It creates a refreshing sensation to find the camp pitched in a cool and shaded spot ; and at Nadol¹ we had this satisfaction. Here again there was no time for recreation, for there was abundant, nay, overwhelming matter both for the pen and the pencil ; but my readers must be satisfied with the imperfect delineations of the first. Nadol is still a place of some consequence, though, but for its temples, we should not have supposed it to have been the capital of a province. With its neighbour, Narlai, five miles to the westward, it was the abode of a branch of the Chauhans of Ajmer, established at a very early period. From Nadol sprung the Deoras of Sirohi, and the Sonigiras of Jalor. The former still maintain their ground, in spite of all attempts of the Rathors ; but the Sonigira, who was immortalized by his struggle against the second Ala, is blotted from the list of independent States ; and this valuable domain, consisting of three hundred and sixty towns, is now incorporated with Jodhpur.

There is no spot in Rajputana that does not contain some record of the illustrious Chauhan ; and though every race has

¹ [About seventy miles south-south-west of Jodhpur city.]

had its career of glory, the sublimity of which, the annals of the Sesodias before the reader sufficiently attest, yet with all my partiality for those with whom I long resided, and with whose history I am best acquainted, my sense of justice compels me to assign the palm of martial intrepidity to the Chauhan over all the "royal races" of India. Even the bards, to whatever family they belong, appear to articulate the very name as if imbued with some peculiar energy, and dwell on its terminating nasal with peculiar complacency. Although they had always ranked high in the list of chivalry, yet the seal of the order was stamped on all who have the name of Chauhan, since the days of Prithiraj, the model of every Rajput, and who had a long line of fame to maintain. Of the many names familiar to the bard is Guga of Bhatinda, who with forty-seven sons "drank of the stream of the sword" on the banks of the Sutlej, in opposing Mahmud.¹ This conqueror proceeded through the desert to the attack of Ajmer, the chief abode of this race, where his arms were disgraced, the invader wounded, and forced to relinquish his enterprise [697]. In his route to Nahrwala and Somnath he passed Nadol,² whose prince hesitated not to measure his sword even with Mahmud. I was fortunate enough to obtain an inscription regarding this prince, the celebrated Lakha, said to be the founder of this branch from Ajmer, of which it was a fief—its date S. 1039 (A.D. 983).³ The fortress attributed to Lakha is on the declivity

¹ [Bhatinda, now Govindgarh, in the Patiāla State (*IGI*, xii. 343). The author's accounts of Gūga or Gugga are contradictory (see Index, *s.v.*). For this famous saga see Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, i. 121 ff., iii. 261 ff. The cult of the hero has passed as far south as Gujarāt, his festival being held on 9th dark half of Bhādon (Aug.-Sept.), known as Gūga'navami (*BG*, ix. Part i. 524 f.).]

² Ferishta, or his copyist, by a false arrangement of the points, has lost Nadole in Buzule, using the ب for the ن and the ذ for the د. [It was Kutbu-d-dīn who, on his way to Gujarāt, passed the forts of "Tilli and Buzule" (Dow, ed. 1812, i. 147). Briggs (Ferishta i. 196) writes "Baly and Nadole." In the *Tājū-l-Ma'āsir* of Hasan Nizāmi the names are given as "Pālī and Nandūl" (Elliot-Dowson ii. 229). This illustrates the difficulty of tracing place names in the Muhammadan historians.]

³ [Towards the end of the tenth century, Lākhan or Lakshman Singh, a younger brother of Wākpatirāj, the Chauhān Rāja of Sāmbhar, settled at Nādol, and his descendants ruled the territory till their defeat by Kutbu-d-dīn Ibak in 1206-10 (Erskine iii. A. 181 f.).]

of a low ridge to the westward of the town, with square towers of ancient form, and built of a very curious conglomerate of granite and gneiss, of which the rock on which it stands is composed. There was a second inscription, dated S. 1024 (A.D. 968), which made him the contemporary of the Rana's ancestor, Sakti Kumar of Aitpur, a city also destroyed, more probably by the father of Mahmud. The Chauhan bards speak in very lofty terms of Rao Lakha, who "collected transit dues from the further gate of Anhilwara, and levied tribute from the prince of Chitor."

Remains at Nādol.—It is impossible to do full justice to the architectural remains, which are well worthy of the pencil. Here everything shows that the Jain faith was once predominant, and that their arts, like their religion, were of a character quite distinct from those of Siva. The temple of Mahavira, the last of their twenty-four apostles, is a very fine piece of architecture. Its vaulted roof is a perfect model of the most ancient style of dome in the East; probably invented anterior to the Roman. The principle is no doubt the same as the first substitute of the arch, and is that which marked the genius of Caesar in his bridge over the Rhone, and which appears over every mountain torrent of the ancient Helvetii, from whom he may have borrowed it.¹ The principle is that of a horizontal instead of a radiating pressure. At Nadol the stones are placed by a gradual projection one over the other, the apex being closed by a circular key-stone. The angles of all these projections being rounded off, the spectator looking up can only describe the vault as a series of gradually diminishing amulets or rings converging to the apex. The effect is very pleasing, though it furnishes a strong argument that the Hindus first became acquainted with the perfect arch through their conquerors. The *toran*, in front of the altar of Mahavira, is exquisitely sculptured, as well as several statues of marble, discovered about one hundred and fifty years ago in the bed of the river, when it changed its course. It is not unlikely that they were buried during Mahmud's invasion. But [698] the

¹ [The temple of Mahāvira contains three inscriptions, dated A.D. 1609, recording its construction from charitable funds. Garrett disputes the author's reference to Caesar, as the buildings are not superior to many others in Rājputāna (*ASR*, xxiii. (1887) 93).]

most singular structure of Nadol is a reservoir, called the *chana ki baoli*, from the cost of it being paid by the return of a single grain of pulse (*chana*). The excavation is immense ; the descent is by a flight of grey granite steps, and the sides are built up from the same materials by piling blocks upon blocks of enormous magnitude, without the least cement.

Inscriptions and Coins.—My acquisitions here were considerable. Besides copies of inscriptions made by my Sanskrit scribes, I obtained two originals on brass. Of one of these, dated S. 1218, the memorial of Alandeva, I append a translation,¹ which may be considered curious as a formula of endowment of the Jains. I likewise procured several isolated MS. leaves of very great value, relative to the thirty-six royal races, to the ancient geography of India, and to the founding of ancient cities ; also a catalogue of longevity of plants and animals, and an extract from a work concerning the descendants of Srenika and Samprati, the potent princes of the Jain faith between Mahavira and Vikrama. However meagre these fragments may be, I have incorporated their contents into my mosaic. I also made valuable additions to my collection of medals, for I obtained coins of Mahmud, Balban, and Ala, surnamed Khuni, or ‘ the sanguinary ’ ; and another of a conqueror equally meriting that title, Nadir Shah. But these were of little consequence compared with what one of my envoys brought from Narlai—a small bag full of curious hieroglyphical (if I may so use the term) medals of the Chauhan princes.² One side represents a warrior on horseback, compounded out of a character to which I have applied the above term ; on some there was a bull ; while others, retaining the original reverse, have on the obverse the titles of the first Islamite conquerors, in the same manner as the currency of France bears the effigies of Louis XVI. and the emblems of the Republic. Whoever will pay a visit to Nadol will find his labour amply rewarded ; I had only leisure to glean a few of these relics, which yet formed a rich harvest. Narlai, Bali, Desuri, Sadri, all ancient seats of the Jains, will yield medals, MSS., and rare specimens of the architectural art. From Abu to Mandor, the

¹ See Appendix, No. VII.

² These will appear more appropriately in a disquisition on Hindu medals found by me in India, in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*. [The well-known “ Bull and Horseman ” type (*IGI*, ii. 142 f.).]

antiquary might fill many portfolios, and collect matter for volumes of the ancient history of this people, for this is the cradle of their faith. That I was enabled to obtain so much during a rapid march through the country arose partly from previous [699] knowledge, partly from the extent of my means, for I had flying detachments to the right and left of my route, consisting of intelligent natives of each city, accompanied by pandits for deciphering, and others for collecting whatever was the object of research; who, at the close of each day, brought me the fruits of their inquiries. When any remarkable discovery was made, I followed it up in person, or by sending those in whom I could confide. This is not mentioned from a spirit of egotism, but to incite others to the pursuit by showing the rewards which await such research.

Indara.—*October 29.*—Camp at Indara, eleven miles. This small town, placed on the north bank of one of the nameless feeders of the ‘salt river,’ is the boundary of Godwar; here the reign of the yellow anwal terminates, and here commences Marusthali, or ‘the region of death.’ The transition is great. We can look back upon fertility, and forward on aridity, which does not, however, imply sterility: for that cunning artist, nature, compensates the want of verdure and foliage to the inhabitants of the desert by many spontaneous bounties. An entire race of cucurbitaceous plants is the eleemosynary equivalent for the mango and exotics of the central lands of Rajputana; while indigenous poverty sends forth her commercial sons from Osi, Pali, and Pokaran, to bring wealth from the Ganges and the Kistna, to the Luni, or to the still more remote oasis, Jaisalmer. From Indara everything assumed a new character: the sand, of which we had before scarcely a sprinkling, became occasionally heavy; the shallow beds of the numerous streams were white with saline incrustations; and the vegetable creation had been gradually diminishing, from the giant race of the sacred fig-tree with leaf “broad as Amazonian targe,” to the dwarfish shrubs of the desert. At once the satiric stanza of the bard of a more favoured region was brought to my mind, and as I repeated it to my old friend the Rana’s envoy, he enjoyed the confession, and afresh urged his wish that nature should decide the question of their boundaries:

*Āk ra jhonpra,
Phog ra vār,
Bājra ri rotī,
Motham hari dāl,
Dekho ho Raja, teri Marwar.*

‘Huts of the āk,
Barriers of thorns,
Bread of maize,
Lentils of the vetch,
Behold Raja, your Marwar!’ [700].

Construction of Villages.—The villages are of a construction totally distinct from anything we have seen, and more approaching the wigwam of the western world. Every commune is surrounded with a circumvallation of thorns, *kanta ka kot*, and the stacks of *bhus*, or ‘chaff,’ which are placed at intervals, give it the appearance of a respectable fortification. These *bhus* stacks are erected to provide provender for the cattle in scanty rainy seasons, when the parched earth denies grass, or full crops of maize. They are erected to the height of twenty or thirty feet, coated with a cement of earth and cow-dung, and with a sprinkling of thorns, to prevent the fowls of the air from reposing in them. In this manner, with a little fresh coating, they will exist ten years, being only resorted to on emergencies, when the kine may be said to devour the village walls. Their appearance is a great relief to the monotony of the march through the desert; which, however, cannot strictly be said to commence till you cross the Luni.

Pāli.—October 30.—A long march of twenty-one miles, in which there was little to record, brought us to Pali, the great commercial mart of western Rajwara. Like everything else in these regions it bore the marks of rapine; and as in the civil wars of this State its possession was of great importance to either party, the fortifications were razed at the desire of the inhabitants, who did not admire the noise of war within their gates. From the same feeling, when it was proposed to gird the sister mart, Bhilwara, with walls, the opposition to it was universal. The remnants of the walls lend it an air of desolation.¹ The town is overrated at ten thousand houses. As an emporium its reputation is of ancient

¹ [All traces of these walls have disappeared, but in Jūna or ‘Old’ Pāli there are some fine temples (*ASR*, xxiii. (1887) 86 ff.).]

date : and, politically, it is connected with the establishment of the reigning family in these regions. A community of Brahmans then held Pali in grant from the princes of Mandor : whence comes, a numerous class, termed Paliwal, who follow mercantile pursuits. It was in S. 1212 (A.D. 1156) that Siahji, the founder of the Rathor dynasty and son to the emperor of Kanauj, passed Pali on his return from a pilgrimage from Dwarka to the Ganges. The Brahmans sent a deputation to relieve them from two great enemies to their repose, namely, the Minas of the Aravalli, and the lions, which had become very numerous. Siahji relieved them from both ; but the opportunity " to acquire land " was too good to be lost, and on the festival of the Holi he put the leading Brahmans to death, and took possession of Pali.

The Commerce of Pāli.—Commerce, in these regions, is the basis of liberty : even despotism is [701] compelled to leave it unrestrained. Pali, like Bhilwara, Jhalrapatan, Rani, and other marts, enjoys the right of electing its own magistrates, both for its municipal regulations, and the arbitration of all matters connected with commercial pursuits. It was commerce which freed Europe from the bondage of feudality ; and the towns above cited only require the same happy geographical position, to play the part of the Hanse towns of Europe. Like Bhilwara, Pali has its own currency, which, amidst universal deterioration, it has retained undebased. From remote times, Pali has been the connecting link between the sea-coast and northern India. Commercial houses established at Muskat-Mandavi, Surat, and Navanagar transmit the products of Persia, Arabia, Africa, and Europe, receiving those of India and Thibet. To enumerate all the articles, it would be necessary to name the various products of each : from the coast, elephants' teeth, rhinoceros' hides, copper, tin, pewter, dates dried and moist,¹ of which there is an immense consumption in these regions ; gum-arabic, borax, coconuts, broad-cloths, striped silks, called *patang* ; various dyes, particularly the *kermes* or crimson ; drugs, especially the oxides of arsenic and quicksilver ; spices, sandal-wood, camphor, tea, *momiai* or mummy,² which is much sought after in medicine, and

¹ The *kharak* and *pind khajūr*. [*Kharak* is the stage when the date becomes red or yellow, according to variety ; *pind*, when it is quite ripe (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* vi. Part i. 205).]

² *Mom* in the language of Egypt signifies 'wax,' says some ancient

green glass (*kanch*). From Bahawalpur, soda (*sajji*),¹ the dyes called *al*² and *majith*,³ matchlocks, dried fruits, asafoetida, Multan chintzes, and wood for household furniture. From Kotah and Malwa, opium and chintzes. From Jaipur, various cloths and sugars. From Bhuj, swords and horses.

The exports of home production are the two staple articles of salt and woollens ; to which we may add coarse cotton cloths, and paper made in the town of Pali. The *lois*, or blankets, are disseminated throughout India, and may be had at from four to sixty rupees per pair ; scarfs and turbans are made of the same material, but not for exportation. But salt is the chief article of export, and the duties arising therefrom equal half the land revenue of the country. Of the *agars*, or 'salt lakes,' Pachbhadra, Phalodi, and Didwana are the principal, the first being several miles in circuit [702].

The commercial duties of Pali yielded 75,000 rupees annually, a large sum in a poor country like Marwar.

Chāran and Bhāt Carriers.—The Charans and Bhats, or bards and genealogists, are the chief carriers of these regions : their sacred character overawes the lawless Rajput chief ; and even the savage Koli and Bhil, and the plundering Sahariya of the desert, dread the anathema of these singular races, who conduct the caravans through the wildest and most desolate regions. The traveller avails himself of such convoy who desires to proceed to the coast by Jalor, Bhinmal, Sanchor, and Radhanpur, whence he may pursue his route to Surat, or Muskat-Mandavi.

Pungiri Temple.—To the east of Pali about ten miles, there is an isolated hill, called Pungiri, 'the hill of virtue,' which is crowned with a small temple, said to have been conveyed by a Buddhist magician from Palitana in Saurashtra. Wherever this ancient and numerous sect exists, magical skill is always asserted.

authority : so it is the usual name of that article in Persian. *Mummy* is probably thence derived. I remember playing a trick on old Silu, our *khabardar* [spy] at Sindhia's camp, who had been solicited to obtain a piece of *momiai* for a chieftain's wife. As we are supposed to possess everything valuable in the healing art, he would take no refusal ; so I substituted a piece of indiarubber. [For the virtues of *moniāi* see Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India*, ii. 176 ff.]

¹ [Barilla, Watt, *Econ. Prod.* 112 f.]

² [*Morinda citrifolia*, *ibid.* 783 f.]

³ [Madder, *Rubia cordifolia*, *ibid.* 926 f.]

Here we found our old friend, Gough, who had been rambling to the south-west amongst Sahariya, Khosas,¹ and all the wild beings of these uncivilized tracts, in search of new breeds of horses. Halted to enjoy his society.

Kairla, 30th.

Rohat, 31st.

Khānkāni.—*November 1.*—Khankani, on the north bank of the Luni. There was nothing to arrest attention between Pali and the Luni: all is flat and lonely in the thirty miles which intervene. Our halts were at Kairla, which has two small salt lakes, whence its name; in fact, this superabundant product, *khar*, or salt, gives its name to streams and towns. Both Kairla and Rohat, the intermediate places of halt, are feudal estates, and both chiefs had been involved in the recent civil dissensions: Rohat was under the ban.

Bhāt Customs. Coercion by Threat of Human Sacrifice.—Here I had an exemplification of the vulgar adage, “two of a trade,” etc. Pema Naik, the leader of one of the largest *tandas*, or caravans, which frequent the desert for salt, had left his convoy, and with his brethren came to exhibit his wounds and fractures received in a fray with the leaders of another caravan. Both were Bhats; Pema was the head of the Bamania Bhats, so called from the place of their abode, and he counted forty thousand beasts of burthen under his control. Shama had no distinctive epithet: he had no home separate from [703] his *tanda*. His little State when not in motion was on the highways; hence those who dwell entirely with their cattle are styled *upapanti*, ‘on the road.’ Shama had taken advantage of the greater portion of Pema’s caravan being detached to revenge an ancient feud; and had shown himself quite an adept in club-law, as the broken heads of his opponents disclosed. To reconcile them was impossible; and as the case was to be decided, not by the scales of abstract justice but by calculating which contributed most in duties, Pema by this summary process, more than from sympathy to his wounded honour, gained a victory by the exclusion of his rival. As before observed, these classes take advantage of their sacred character amongst the Rajputs to become the general

¹ [The Khosa is a Baloch tribe, many of them found in Sind, where, it is said, they were given lands by the Emperor Humāyūn (*Census Report, Baluchistan*, 1901, i. 95 f.).]

carriers of the country : but the advantage which might result to the State from the respect paid to them is neutralized by their avarice and constant evasion of the payment of all established duties. A memorable example of this kind occurred during the reign of Amra the First with the ancestor of this same Pema. The Rana would not submit to the insolent demands of the Bhats, when they had recourse to one of the most sanguinary sacrifices ever recorded—the threat alone of which is generally sufficient to extort acquiescence and concession. But the firmness of Amra has been recorded : and he braved them. Collecting the elder portion of their community, men, women, and youths of both sexes, they made a sacrifice to the number of eighty souls with their daggers in the court of the palace. The blood of the victims was on the Rana's head.¹ It was a species of excommunication, which would have unsettled a weaker reason ; for the Rajput might repose after the murder of a Brahman, but that of the prophetic Vates would rise against him here and hereafter. For once they encountered a mind too strong to be shaken ; Amra banished the whole fraternity of Bamania Bhats from his dominions, and the town of Bamani reverted to the fisc. The edict remained uncanceled until these days, when amongst the industrious of all classes whom the proclamations² brought once more to Mewar, came Pema and his brethren. Although tradition had preserved the causes of their exile, it had made no alteration in their sentiments and opinions, and the dagger was always at hand, to be sheathed in their own flesh whenever provocation called it from the girdle. Pema beset the Rana in all his rides, demanding a reduction [704] or rather abolition of duties for his *tanda* ; and at length he took up a position on the terrace fronting the 'balcony of the sun,' threatening a *chāndni*,³ for such is the

¹ [Numerous instances of this custom among Bhāts will be found in BG, ix. Part i. 209 ff.] ² See Vol. I. p. 561.

³ [Platts (*Hindustāni Dict.*, s.v.) gives *chāndni*, 'moonlight'; *chāndni mār-jūna*, 'to be moonstruck, paralysed by a stroke of the moon'; *chāndni karan*, 'the practice of Brāhmans and others wounding themselves in order to extort the payment of a debt.' Here the threat is fear of the ghost of the man who took his life. Sir G. Grierson notes that in Gujarāṭi and Marāṭhi *chāndi karan* means 'to reduce to white ashes,' hence 'to ruin or destroy completely.' Here *chāndi*, usually meaning 'silver,' means 'anything white,' and hence 'white ashes.' This, he suggests, seems to be a more probable explanation than 'moonstruck.']

term applied to this suicidal revenge. The Rana, who had not the nerve of his ancestor, sent to me to beseech my interference : with his messenger, one from me returned to invite the Bhats to a settlement. They came, as fine, robust, intrepid a set as I ever saw. We soon came to issue : I urged that duties must be paid by all who chose to frequent the passes of Mewar, and that they would get nothing by their present silly mode of endeavouring to obtain remission ; that if they would give a written agreement to abide by the scale of duties laid down, they should receive exemption for five hundred out of the forty thousand bullocks of their *tanda*, and be reinducted into Bamani ; if not, there were daggers (showing them some on the table), and they might begin as soon as they pleased. I added that, in addition to Rana Amra's penalty of banishment, I would recommend confiscation of their entire caravan. Pema was no fool : he accepted Bamani, and the *muafi* for five hundred, and that day received his gold bracelets and clothes of investiture for Bamani from the Rana.

Jhālamand.—*November 2.*—Jhālamand, ten miles. Although within one march of Jodhpur, we were obliged to make an intermediate halt, in order to arrange the ceremonials of reception ; a grave matter with all the magnates of the East, who regulate all such affairs by slavish precedent and ancestral wisdom. On such a novel occasion as the reception of an English envoy at this desert court, they were a good deal puzzled how to act. They could very well comprehend how an ambassador direct from majesty should be received, and were not unfamiliar with the formula to be observed towards a viceregal legation. But the present case was an anomaly : the Governor of all India, of course, could appear only as the first servant of a commercial body, which, with whatever privileges invested, never could be made to rank with royalty or its immediate emanation. Accordingly, this always proved a clog to our diplomatic missions, until the diffusion of our power from the Indus to the ocean set speculation at rest on the formalities of reception of the Company's ambassadors. On the other hand, the eternal rotation of military adventurers enjoying ephemeral power, such as the commanders of the myrmidons of Sindhia and Holkar, compelled all the Rajput princes to forgo much of their dignity ; and men like Amir Khan, Jean Baptiste, or Bapu Sindhia, who but a [705] short time ago would

have deemed themselves honoured with a seat in the ante-chamber, claimed equality of reception with princes. Each made it a subject for boasting, how far he had honoured himself by the humiliation of the descendant of the emperor of Kanauj, or the scion of Rama. At the same time, as the world is always deceived by externals, it was difficult to concede a reception less distinguished than that granted to the leader of a Mahratta horde ; and here their darling precedent was available. To what distance did the Raja send the *istikbal* to meet Amir Khan ? what was the rank of the chieftains so deputed ? and to what point did the "offspring of the sun" condescend to advance in person to receive this "lord of the period" ? All these, and many similar questions, were propounded through the Wakil, who had long been with me, to his sovereign, to whose presence he proceeded in order that they might be adjusted, while I halted at Jhalamand, only five miles from the capital. However individually we may despise these matters, we have no option, as public servants, but to demand the full measure of honour for those we represent. As the present would also regulate future receptions, I was compelled to urge that the Raja would best consult his own dignity by attending to that of the government I represented, and distinctly signified that it could never be tolerated that he should descend to the very foot of his castle to honour Amir Khan, and await the English envoy almost on the threshold of his palace. It ended, as such matters generally do in those countries, by a compromise : it was stipulated that the Raja should receive the mission in his *palki* or litter, at the central barrier of descent.¹ These preliminaries being arranged, we left Jhalamand in the afternoon, that we might not derange the habits of slumber of those who were to conduct us to the capital. About half-way we were met by the great feudatory chieftains of Pokaran and Nimaj, then lords of the ascendant, and the joint advisers of their sovereign. We dismounted, embraced, complimented each other in the customary phraseology ; then remounted, and rode together until we reached the tents, where, after I had requested them to be the bearers of my homage to their sovereign, we mutually saluted and parted.

¹ Mr. Wilder, the superintendent of Ajmer, was deputed by General Sir D. Ochterlony, in December 1818, to the court of Jodhpur, and was very courteously received by the Raja.

The Chief of Pokaran.—Salim Singh¹ was the name of the lord of Pokaran, the most wealthy and the [706] most powerful of all the baronies of Marwar. His castle and estate (wrested from Jaisalmer) are in the very heart of the desert; the former is strong both by position and art. It is a family which has often shaken the foundation of the throne of Marwar. During four generations have its bold and turbulent chiefs made the most resolute of these monarchs tremble. Deo Singh, the great grandfather of the present chief, used to sleep in the hall of the royal palace, with five hundred of his Champawats, of which clan he is the chief. "The throne of Marwar is within the sheath of my dagger," was the boast, as elsewhere mentioned, of this haughty noble to his sovereign. His son, Sabal Singh, followed his father's steps, and even dethroned the great Bijai Singh: a cannon-shot relieved the prince from this terror of his reign. Sawai Singh, his son and successor, acted the same part towards Raja Bhim, and was involved in the civil wars which commenced in 1806, when he set up the pretender, Dhonkal Singh. The catastrophe of Nagor, in which Amir Khan acted the assassin of the Champawat and all his associates, relieved Raja Man from the evil genius of his house; and the honours this prince heaped on the son of the Champawat, in giving him the first office in the State, were but a trap to ensnare him. From this he escaped, or his life and the honours of Pokaran would have been lost together. Such is a rapid sketch of the family of the chief who was deputed to meet me. He was about thirty-five years of age; his appearance, though not prepossessing, was dignified and commanding. In person he was tall, but more powerful than athletic; his features were good, but his complexion was darker than in general amongst the chieftains of Marwar.

The Chief of Nīmāj.—His companion, and associate in the councils of his prince, was in every point of personal appearance the reverse of this portrait. Surthan Singh was chief of the Udawats, a clan which can muster four thousand swords, all residing on the land skirting the Aravalli; and of which his

¹ The sibilant is the *Shibboleth* of the Rajput of Western India, and will always detect him. The 'lion' (*singh*) of Pokaran is degraded into 'asafoetida' (*hing*); as *Halim Hing*. [Pokaran, 85 miles N.W. of Jodhpur city, held by the premier noble of the Champawat clan of Rāthors.]

residence Nimaj,¹ Raepur, and Chandawal are the principal fiefs. Surthan was a fine specimen of the Rajput ; his figure tall and graceful ; his complexion fair ; his deportment manly and mild ; in short, he was a thorough gentleman in appearance, understanding, and manners.

It would be impossible to relate here all the causes which involved him in the catastrophe from which his coadjutor escaped. It was the misfortune of Surthan to have been associated with Salim Singh ; but his past services to his prince amply counterbalanced this party bias. It was he who prevented his sovereign from [707] sheathing a dagger in his heart on the disgraceful day at Parbatsar ; and he was one of the four chieftains of all Marwar who adhered to his fortunes when beset by the united force of Rajputana. He was also one of the same four who redeemed the spoils of their country from the hands of the multitudinous array which assaulted Jodhpur in 1806, and whose fate carried mourning into every house of Rajasthan.² The death of Surthan Singh was a prodigal sacrifice, and caused a sensation of universal sorrow, in which I unfeignedly participated. His gallant bearing was the theme of universal admiration ; nor can I give a better or a juster idea of the chivalrous Rajput than by inserting a literal translation of the letter conveying the account of his death, about eight months after my visit to Jodhpur.

“ Jodhpur, 2d Asarh, or 28th June 1820. ”

“ On the last day of Jeth (the 26th June), an hour before day-break, the Raja sent the Aligols,³ and all the quotas of the chiefs, to the number of eight thousand men, to attack Surthan Singh. They blockaded his dwelling in the city, upon which for three watches they kept up a constant fire of great guns and small arms. Surthan, with his brother Sur Singh, and his kindred and clan, after a gallant defence, at length sallied forth, attacked the foreigners sword in hand, and drove them back. But who can oppose their prince with success ? The odds were too great,

¹ [Nimāj, about 60 miles E.S.E. of Jodhpur city, fief of a noble of the Udāwat Rāthors.]

² See Vol. I. p. 539 for the murder of the princess of Udaipur, one of its results.

³ The mercenary Rohilla battalions, who are like the Walloons and independent companies which formed the first regular armies of Europe. [‘Aligol, ‘noble troop’ (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed. 15.)]

and both brothers fell nobly. Nagoji and forty of the bravest of the clan fell with the Thakur brothers, and forty were severely wounded. Eighty, who remained, made good their retreat with their arms to Nimaj.¹ Of the Raja's troops, forty were killed on the spot, and one hundred were wounded. Twenty of the townsfolk suffered in the fray.

"The Pokaran chief, hearing of this, saddled ; but the Maharaja sent Sheonath Singh of Kuchaman, the chief of Bhadrajan, and others, to give him confidence, and induce him to stay ; but he is most anxious to get away. My nephew and fifteen of my followers were slain on this occasion. The Nimaj chief fell as became a Rathor. The world exclaims 'applause,' and both Hindu and Turk say he met [708] his death nobly. Sheonath Singh, Bakhtawar Singh, Rup Singh, and Anar Singh,² performed the funeral rites."

Such is the Rajput, when the point of honour is at stake ! Not a man of his clan would have surrendered while their chief lived to claim their lives ; and those who retreated only preserved them for the support of the young lord of the Udawats [709] !

CHAPTER 27

City and Fort of Jodhpur.—The sand, since we crossed the Luni, had become gradually heavier, and was quite fatiguing as we approached the capital of "the region of death" ; but the Marwaris and the camels appeared to move through it as briskly as our men would on the plains of the Ganges. The view before the reader will give a more correct idea of the 'city of Jodha' than the most laboured description. The fort is erected on a mole projecting from a low range of hills, so as to be almost isolated, while, being higher than the surrounding objects, it is not commanded. This table-ridge (mountain we can scarcely term it, since its most elevated portion is not more than three hundred feet in height) is a curious feature in these regions of

¹ Which they afterwards nobly defended during many months.

² The last, a brave and excellent man, was the writer of this letter. He, who had sacrificed all to save his prince, and, as he told me himself, supported him, when proscribed by his predecessor, by the sale of all his property, even to his wife's jewels, yet became an exile, to save his life from an overwhelming proscription. To the anomalous state of our alliances with these States is to be ascribed many of these mischiefs.

uninterrupted aridity. It is about twenty-five miles in length, and, as far as I could determine from a bird's-eye view and from report, between two and three in breadth, the capital being placed on the highest part at the southern extremity, and may be said to be detached from it. The northern point, which is the highest, and on which the palace is built, is less than three hundred feet. Everywhere it is scarped, but especially at this point, against which the batteries of the League¹ were directed in 1806, at least a hundred and twenty feet of perpendicular height. Strong walls and numerous round and square towers encircle the crest of the hill, encompassing a space of great extent, as may be judged from the dimensions of the base, said to be four miles in circuit. Seven barriers are thrown across the circuitous ascent, each having immense portals and their separate guards. There are two small lakes under the walls: the Rani Talab, or 'Queen's Lake,' to the east; and the Gulab Sagar, or 'Rose-water Sea,' to the south, from [710] which the garrison draws up water in buckets. There is also inside a *kund*, or reservoir, about ninety feet in depth, excavated from the rock, which can be filled from these tanks; and there are likewise wells within, but the water is brackish. Within are many splendid edifices, and the Raja's residence is a succession of palaces, each prince since the founder having left memorials of his architectural taste. The city to the eastward of the citadel is encompassed by a strong wall, three coss, or nearly six miles, in extent, on which a hundred and one bastions or towers are distributed; on the rampart are mounted several *rahkals*² or swivels. There are seven gates to the capital, each bearing the name of the city to which it leads. The streets are very regular, and adorned with many handsome edifices of freestone, of which the ridge is composed. The number of families some years ago was stated to be 20,000, probably 80,000 souls, an estimate far too great for the present day.³ The Gulab Sagar is the favourite lounge of the inhabitants, who recreate amongst its gardens; and, strange to say, the most incomparable pomegranates (*anar*) are produced in it, far superior even to those of Kabul, which they resemble in the peculiarity of being *be-dana*,

¹ [Of Jagat Singh of Jaipur and Amīr Khān.]

² [*Rahkala* is properly the carriage on which a field-piece is mounted: then, a swivel-gun (Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, 140).]

³ [The population of the city in 1911 was 79,756.]

‘ without grain ’ : rather a misnomer for a fruit, the characteristic of which is its granulations ; but this is in contradistinction to those of India, which are all grain and little pulp. The *anars* of the Kagli-ka-bagh, or ‘ Ravens’ Garden,’ are sent to the most remote parts as presents. Their beautiful ruby tint affords an abundant resource for metaphor to the Rajput bard, who describes it as “ sparkling in the ambrosial cup.” ¹

Reception by the Rāja.—On the 4th the Raja received us with due form, advancing beyond the second gate of descent ; when, after salutations and greetings, he returned according to etiquette. Giving him time to make his arrangements, we advanced slowly through lines of his clansmen to the upper area, where a display of grandeur met our view for which we were totally unprepared, and far eclipsing the simple and unostentatious state of the Rana. Here everything was imitative of the imperial court of Delhi, where the Rathor, long pre-eminent, had “ the right hand of the king of the world.” Lines of gold and silver mace-bearers deafened us with the titles of “ Raj-Raj-Isvara ! ” ‘ the king, the lord of kings ! ’ into whose presence; through mazes of intricate courts filled with his chivalry, all hushed into that mysterious silence which is invariably observed on such occasions, we were at length ushered [711].

Rāja Mān Singh.—The King of Maru arose from his throne, and advanced a few paces, when he again courteously received the envoy and suite, who were here introduced. The hall of reception was of great extent : from its numerous square columns it is styled Sahas stambha, ‘ the thousand-columned hall.’ They were more massive than elegant ; and being placed in parallel rows, at not more than twelve feet from each other, they gave an air of cumbrous, if not clumsy grandeur to an immense apartment, the ceiling of which was very low. About the centre, in a niche or recess, the royal *gaddi* or ‘ cushion ’ was placed, over which was raised a richly embroidered canopy, supported by silver-gilt columns. On the Rana’s right hand were placed those whom the king honoured, the chieftains of Pokaran and Nimaj, who would have been less at their ease had they known that all the distinctions they then enjoyed were meshes to ensnare them. Several other chieftains and civil officers, whose names would but little interest the reader, were placed around. The wakil, Bishan

¹ *Amrit ra piyala.*

Ram, was seated near me, almost in front of the Raja. The conversation was desultory and entirely complimentary; affording, however, abundant opportunity to the Raja to display his proficiency in that mixed language, the Hindustani, which he spoke with great fluency and much greater purity than those who resided about the court at Delhi. In person the Raja is above the common height, possessing considerable dignity of manner, though accompanied by the stiffness of habitual restraint. His demeanour was commanding and altogether princely; but there was an entire absence of that natural majesty and grace which distinguished the prince of Udaipur, who won without exertion our spontaneous homage. The features of Raja Man are good: his eye is full of intelligence; and though the ensemble of his countenance almost denotes benevolence, yet there is ever and anon a doubtful expression, which, with a peculiarly formed forehead, gave a momentary cast of malignity to it. This might have been owing to that deep dissimulation, which had carried him through a trial of several years' captivity, during which he acted the maniac and the religious enthusiast, until the assumed became in some measure his natural character.

The biography of Man Singh would afford a remarkable picture of human patience, fortitude, and constancy, never surpassed in any age or country. But in this school of adversity he also took lessons of cruelty: he learned therein to master or rather disguise his passions; and though he showed not the ferocity of the tiger, he acquired [712] the still more dangerous attribute of that animal—its cunning. At that very time, not long after he had emerged from his seclusion, while his features were modelled into an expression of complaisant self-content, indicative of a disdain of human greatness, he was weaving his web of destruction for numberless victims who were basking in the sunshine of his favour. The fate of one of them has been already related.¹

Descent of the Rāthors.—The Rathor, like many other dynasties not confined to the East, claims celestial descent. Of their Bhat, we may say what Gibbon does of the Belgic genealogist who traced the illustrious house of Este from Romulus, that “he riots in all the lust of fiction, and spins from his own bowels a lineage of some thousand years.” We are certain that there were sovereigns of Kanauj in the fifth century, and it is very probable

¹ See p. 820.

that they ruled there prior to the era of Christianity. But this is accounted nothing by these lovers of antiquity, who never stop short of Swayambhuva,¹ and the ark, in which the antediluvian records of the Rathors may have been preserved with those of the De Courcys. But we will not revert to those "happy times, when a genealogical tree would strike its root into any soil, and the luxuriant plant could flourish and fructify without a seed of truth." Then the ambition of the Rathor for a solar pedigree could be gratified without difficulty.

But it requires neither Bhat nor bard to illustrate its nobility : a series of splendid deeds which time cannot obliterate has emblazoned the Rathor name on the historical tablet. Where all these races have gained a place in the temple of fame, it is almost invidious to select ; but truth compels me to place the Rathor with the Chauhan, on the very pinnacle. The names of Chonda and Jodha are sufficient to connect Siahji, the founder, a scion of Kanauj, with his descendant, Raja Man : ² the rest

Were long to tell ; how many battles fought ;
How many kings destroyed, and kingdoms won.

Let us, therefore, put forth our palm to receive the itr from his august hand, and the pan, acknowledged by a profound salaam, and bringing the right hand to my cocked hat, which etiquette requires we should "apply to the proper use :—'tis for the head," even in the presence. At all the native courts the head is covered, and the *en bas* left bare. It would be sadly indecorous to walk in soiled boots over their [713] delicate carpets, covered with white linen, the general seat. The slippers are left at the door, and it is neither inconvenient nor degrading to sit in your socks. The Raja presented me with an elephant and horse caparisoned, an aigrette, necklace, brocades, and shawls, with a portion according to rank to the gentlemen who accompanied me.

On the 6th I paid the Raja another visit, to discuss the affairs of his government. From a protracted conversation of several hours, at which only a single confidential personal attendant of the prince was present, I received the most convincing proofs of his intelligence, and minute knowledge of the past history, not of his own country alone, but of India in general. He was remark-

¹ ['The self-existent.']

² [The Rathor dynasty of Kanauj is a myth (Smith, *EHI*, 385, note 1).]

ably well read ; and at this and other visits he afforded me much instruction. He had copies made for me of the chief histories of his family, which are now deposited in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. He entered deeply into the events of his personal history, and recounted many of the expedients he was obliged to have recourse to in order to save his life, when, in consequence of the murder of his Guru (not only his spiritual but his temporal guide, counsellor, and friend), he relinquished the reins of power, and acquiesced in their assumption by his son. The whole transaction is still involved in mystery, which the Raja alone can unravel. We must enter so far into the State secrets of the court as to disclose the motive for such an act as the destruction of the brave Surthan, and introduce to the reader another high priest of the Rajputs as a pendant for the oracle of the Apollo of Nathdwara.

The parricidal murder of Raja Ajit has been the destruction of Marwar, and even "unto the third and fourth generation" Providence would seem to have visited the act with its vengeance. The crown, which in a few years more would have been transmitted by nature's law, was torn from the brow of this brave prince, who has redeemed his lost inheritance from Aurangzeb, by the unhallowed arm of his eldest son Abhai Singh ; instigated thereto by an imperial bribe of the viceroyalty of Gujarat. His brother, Bakhta Singh, was made almost independent in Nagor by the concession of Abhai and the sanad and titles of his sovereign ; and the contests between their issue have moistened the sands of Marwar with the richest blood of her children. Such is the bane of feudal dominion—the parent of the noblest deeds and the deepest crimes.

Deonāthji, the High Priest.—Raja Man, accordingly, came to the throne with all the advantages and [714] disadvantages of such a state of things ; and he was actually defending his existence in Jalor against his cousin and sovereign, when an unexpected event released him from his perils, and placed him on the throne. Bhim Singh had destroyed almost every branch of the blood-royal, which might have served as a nucléus for those intestine wars which desolated the country, and young Man, the sole intervening obstacle to the full accomplishment of his wishes, was reduced to the last extremity, and on the eve of surrendering himself and Jalor to this merciless tyrant, when he was relieved

from his perilous situation. He attributed his escape to the intercession of the high priest of Marwar, the spiritual leader of the Rathors. This hierarch bore the title of divinity, or Nathji : his prænomen of Deo or Deva was almost a repetition of his title ; and both together, Deonath, cannot be better rendered than by ' Lord God.' Whether the intercession of this exalted personage was purely of a moral nature, as asserted, or whether Raja Bhim was removed from this vain world to the heaven of Indra by means less miraculous than prayer is a question on which various opinions are entertained ; but all agree that nothing could have been better timed for young Man, the sole victim required to fill up the measure of Bhim's sanguinary policy. When suicide was the sole alternative to avoid surrender to the fangs of this Herod of the Desert, the high priest, assuming the mantle of prophecy, pronounced that no capitulation was inscribed in the book of fate—whose page revealed brighter days for young Man. Such prophets are dangerous about the persons of princes, who seldom fail to find the means to prevent their oracles from being demented. A dose of poison, it is said, was deemed a necessary adjunct to render efficacious the prayers of the pontiff ; and they conjointly extricated the young prince from a fate which was deemed inevitable, and placed him on the regal cushion of Marwar. The gratitude of Raja Man had no limits—no honours, no grants were sufficient to mark his sense of obligation. The royal mantle was hallowed by the tread of this sainted being ; and the throne itself was exalted when Deonath condescended to share it with his master, who, while this proud priest muttered forth his mysterious benedictions, with folded hands stood before him to receive the consecrated garland. Lands in every district were conferred upon the Nath, until his estates, or rather those of the church of which he was the head, far exceeded in extent those of the proudest nobles of the land, his income [715] amounting to a tenth of the revenues of the State. During the few years he held the keys of his master's conscience, which were conveniently employed to unlock the treasury, he erected no less than eighty-four mandirs, or places of worship, with monasteries adjoining them, for his well-fed lazy chelas or disciples, who lived at free quarters on the labour of the industrious. Deonath was a striking example of the identity of human nature, under whatever garb and in whatever clime ; whether under the cowl

or the coronet, in the cold clime of Europe, or in the deserts of India. This Wolsey of Marudes exercised his hourly-increasing power to the disgust and alienation of all but his infatuated prince. He leagued with the nominal minister, Induraj, and together they governed the prince and country. Such characters, when exceeding the sphere of their duties, expose religion to contempt. The degradation which the haughty grandees of Marwar experienced made murder in their eyes a venial offence, provoked as they were by the humiliations they underwent through the influence of this arrogant priest, whose character may be given in the language of Gibbon, merely substituting Dëonath of Marwar for Paul of Samosata: "His ecclesiastical jurisdiction was venal and rapacious; he extorted frequent contributions from the most opulent of the faithful, and converted to his own use a considerable part of the public revenue. His council chamber and his throne, the splendour with which he appeared in public, the suppliant crowd who solicited his attention, and the perpetual hurry of business in which he was involved, were circumstances much better suited to the state of a civil magistrate than to the humility of a primitive bishop."¹ But his "full-blown pride" at length burst under him. Sequestrations from the estates of the chief barons of Maru became frequent in order to swell his rent-roll for the support of his establishments; his retinue on ordinary occasions surpassed that of any chieftain, and not unfrequently he was attended by the whole insignia of the State—the prince attending on such ceremonies. On these occasions the proud Rajput felt that he folded his hands, not to his sovereign, but to his sovereign's sovereign; to a vindictive and vainglorious priest, who, amidst the mummeries and artifices of religious rites, gratified an inordinate vanity, while he mortified their pride and diminished their revenues. The hatred of such men is soon followed by their vengeance; and though they would not dye their own daggers in his blood, they soon found agents in a race who know not mercy, the myrmidons of [716] that villain Amir Khan, under whose steel, and within the precincts of the palace, Deonath fell a victim. It has been surmised that Raja Man was privy to the murder; that if he did not command or even sanction it, he used no means to prevent it. There are but two in this life who can reveal this mystery—the

¹ [*Decline and Fall*, ed. W. Smith, ii. 262.]

Raja, and the *bourreau en chef* of Rajasthan, the aforesaid Amir Khan.

The murder of the high priest was but a prolongation of the drama, in which we have already represented the treacherous destruction of the chieftain of Pokaran and his kindred; and the immolation of Krishna Kunwari, the Helen of Rajasthan. The attack on the gallant Surthan, who conducted us from Jhalamand to the capital, sprung from the seed which was planted so many years back; nor was he the last sacrifice: victim after victim followed in quick succession until the Caligula of the Desert, who could "smile and stab," had either slain or exiled all the first chieftains of his State. It would be a tedious tale to unravel all these intrigues; yet some of them must be told, in order to account for the ferocity of this man, now a subordinate ally of the British Government in the East.

Accession of Rāja Mān Singh.—It was in A.D. 1804¹ that Raja Man exchanged the defence of Jalor for the throne of Jodhpur. His predecessor, Raja Bhim, left a widow pregnant; she concealed the circumstance, and when delivered, contrived to convey the child in a basket to Sawai Singh of Pokaran. During two years he kept the secret: he at length convened the Marwar chieftains, with whose concurrence he communicated it to Raja Man, demanding the cession of Nagor and its dependencies as a domain for this infant, named Dhonkal Singh, the heir-apparent of Marwar. The Raja promised compliance if the mother confirmed the truth of the statement. Whether her personal fears overcame her maternal affection, or the whole was an imposture of Pokaran, she disclaimed the child. The chiefs, though not satisfied, were compelled to appear contented with the result of this appeal; and for some years the matter seemed at rest. But this calm was only the presage of a storm, which shook to its base the political edifice of Marwar, and let loose upon her cities a torrent of predatory foes; it dethroned her prince, and, what the planner could not have contemplated, involved his own destruction. The effects of this treachery have for ever destroyed all confidence between the chief and the entire feudal interest. The Pokaran chief, after failing to establish the [717] claims of Dhonkal Singh as pretender to the throne, sent him for safety

¹ The date of his accession is the 5th of the month Margsir, S. 1860 [A.D. 1803].

to the Shaikhawat chief of Khetri,¹ one of the independent nobles of the Jaipur family. Here he left him till an opportunity again arrived to bring him upon the scene, which was afforded by the contest between the princes of Marwar and Jaipur for the hand of the Rana's daughter. This rivalry, the effects of which are already related, and which brought into conflict all the northern powers of India, was, in fact, only the under-plot of the deep-laid policy of Sawai. When once the gauntlet was thrown down for the hand of this fair lady, the Pokaran chief stepped in with the pretended son of Raja Bhim, whose cause, from the unpopularity of Raja Man, soon brought to his standard almost all the feudality of Marwar. The measures which followed, and the catastrophe, the death of Krishna Kunwari, have already been related.² The assassination of the chief of Pokaran was simultaneous with these events; and it was shortly after that the murder of the pontiff Deonath took place.

Insanity of Rāja Mān Singh.—After being relieved from all external foes by his own strength of mind, and the aid of a few friends whom no reverse could estrange from him, Raja Man either fell, or affected to fall, into a state of mental despondency bordering on insanity. Suspicious of every one, he would only eat from the hands of his wife, who prepared his food herself; he became sullen and morose; he neglected public business; and finally withdrew entirely from the world. The attempt to rouse him from this real or pretended stupor was fruitless; he did nothing but lament the death of Deonath, and pour forth prayers to the deity. In this state, he was easily induced to associate his son in the government, and he bestowed upon him with his own hand the *tika* of command. Chhattar Singh was the name of the prince, who was still in his minority; thoughtless, and of dissolute habits, he soon gave himself up to the guidance of a junta of the chiefs, who proclaimed Akhai Chand, of the mercantile caste, the chief civil minister of the State.

British Control of Mārwar. Restoration and Policy of Rāja Mān Singh.—Such was the condition of Marwar from A.D. 1809 to 1817. At this period the progress of events made the English arbiters of the destinies of Rajasthan. The regent of Marwar sent an ambassador to treat; but before the treaties were ratified and exchanged the young regent was dead. Various causes were

¹ [About 80 miles N. of Jaipur city.]

² Vol. I. page 535.

assigned [718] for his death : by some his dissolute habits, occasioning premature decay ; by others, with more probability, the dagger of an indignant Rajput, the honour of whose daughter he had clandestinely attempted. Upon this event, and the change of political circumstances, the chiefs had no alternative but to turn to the secluded prince. If but one half is true that I have heard, and from authority of high credit, the occupations of the years which the Raja passed between the murder of the priest and the death of his son might be deemed an atonement for the deepest crimes. When messengers announced the fate of his son, and that State necessity recalled him to the helm of affairs, he appeared unable to comprehend them. He had so long acted the maniac that he had nearly become one : his beard was never touched, and his hair, clotted and foul, gave him an expression of idiocy ; yet throughout these long years he was resolutely tenacious of life. The party who governed the son and the State had their own menials to wait upon him, and many were the attempts to poison him by their means ; in avoiding which his simulated madness was so perfect that they deemed he had “ a charmed life.” But he had one faithful servant, who throughout this dreadful trial never forsook him, and who carried him food in his turban to replace that which was suspected. When by degrees he was led to understand the emergency, and the necessity of leaving his prison, he persevered in his apparent indifference to everything earthly, until he gathered information and the means for a terrible reaction. The treaty with the English put the ball at his foot : he very soon perceived that he might command a force to put down disorder—such was even volunteered ; but with admirable penetration he trusted to the impression of this knowledge amongst his chiefs, as a sufficient auxiliary. By disseminating it, he paralysed that spirit which maintained rights in the soil of Marwar nearly concurrent with those of the sovereign. No higher compliment could be paid to British ascendancy than the sentiments of Raja Man and his nobles ; and no better illustration is on record of the opinion of our power than that its name alone served the Raja’s purpose in subjugating men, who, scarcely knowing fear, yet reposing partly on our justice, though mainly on the utter hopelessness of resisting us, were deprived of all moral courage.

In refusing the aid of a mere physical force, the Raja availed

himself of another weapon ; for by this artifice he threw the chiefs off their guard, who confided in his [719] assumed desire to forget the past. Intrigues for power and patronage seemed to strengthen this confidence ; and Salim Singh of Pokaran, the military *Maire du palais* or Bhanjgarh, and Akhai Chand, retained as civil prime minister, were opposed by Jodhraj Singwi, who headed the aspirants to supplant them. The Raja complained of their interested squabbles, but neither party dreamed that they were fostered by him to cloak his deep-laid schemes. Akhai Chand had been minister throughout the son's administration ; the political and pecuniary transactions of the State were known chiefly to him ; to cut him off would have been poor revenge, and Raja Man was determined not only to extract from him all the knowledge of State matters transacted during his seclusion, but to make himself master of his coffers, and neither would have been attained by simple murder. Akhai Chand was not blind to the dangers of his position ; he dreaded the *appui* his sovereign derived from the English, and laboured to inspire the Raja with distrust of their motives. It suited his master's views to flatter this opinion ; and the minister and his adherents were lulled into a fatal security.

Maladministration of Rāja Mān Singh.—Such were the schemes concocting when I visited this court, which were revealed by succeeding events. At this time the Raja appeared in a state of mental depression, involved in difficulties, cautious, fearful of a false step, and surrounded by the satellites of the miscreant Akhai Chand, who, if he could no longer incarcerate his person, endeavoured to seal up the mind of his prince from all communication with those who might stimulate him to exertion. But all his arts only served to entangle him in the web then weaving for his life. The Raja first made him the means of destroying the most powerful of his chieftains, Surthan being the primary sacrifice to his sanguinary proscription ; many others followed, until the best of the feudal chieftains sought refuge from his fury in exile, and found the *saran* (sanctuary) they sought in the surrounding States, the majority in Mewar. The day of vengeance at length arrived, and the minister and his partisans were transferred from their position at the helm of the State to a dungeon. Deceived with hopes of life, and compelled by the application of some summary methods of torture, Akhai Chand gave in a schedule

of forty lakhs of property, of which the Raja realized a large portion, and then dismissed him to the other world. Nagoji, the kiladar,¹ and Mulji Dandal, both favourites and advisers of the Raja's [720] late son, returned on the strength of a general amnesty, and forgot they had been traitors. The wealth which prodigality had heaped upon them, consisting of many of the crown jewels, being recovered, their worldly accounts were settled by a cup of poison, and their bodies thrown over the battlements. Success, and the taste of blood, whetted rather than appeased the appetite of Raja Man. He was well seconded by the new minister, Fateh Raj, the deadly opponent of Akhai Chand, and all the clan of Champawats, whom he deemed the authors of the murder of his brother Induraj, slain at the same time with Deonath. Each day announced a numerous list of victims, either devoted to death, or imprisoned and stripped of their wealth. The enormous sum of a crore of rupees has been stated as the amount of the confiscations.

All these atrocities occurred within six months after my visit to this court, and about eighteen from the time it was received into protective alliance with the British Government. The anomalous condition of all our connexions with the Rajput States has already been described : and if illustration of those remarks be required, it is here in awful characters. We had tied up our own hands : " internal interference " had been renounced, and the sequestration of every merchant's property, who was connected with the Mehta faction, and the exile of the nobles, had no limit but the will of a bloodthirsty and vindictive tyrant. The objects of his persecution made known everywhere the unparalleled hardships of their case, and asserted that nothing but respect for the British Government prevented their doing themselves justice. In no part of the past history of this State could such proscription of the majority of the kin and clan of the prince have taken place. The dread of our intervention, as an umpire favourable to their chief, deprived them of hope ; they knew that if we were exasperated there was no saraṇ to protect them. They had been more than twelve months in this afflicting condition when I left the country ; nor have I heard that anything has been done to relieve them, or to adjust these intestine broils. It is abandoning them to that spirit of revenge which is a powerful

¹ Commandant of the fortress [*qil'adār*].

ingredient in their nature, and held to be justifiable by any means when no other hope is left them. In all human probability, Raja Man will end his days by the same expedient which secured him from the fury of his predecessor.¹

Interview with Rāja Mān Singh.—Having lifted the mantle which veiled the future, my reader must forget all that [721] has been said to the disadvantage of Raja Man, and see only the dignified, the courteous, and the well-instructed gentleman and prince. I cannot think that the Raja had coolly formed to himself the plan of the sanguinary measures he subsequently pursued, and which it would require a much more extended narrative to describe. We discoursed freely on past history, in which he was well read, as also in Persian, and his own native dialects. He presented me with no less than six metrical chronicles of his house ; of two, each containing seven thousand stanzas, I made a rough translation. In return, I had transcribed and sent to him Ferishta's great *History of the Mahomedan Power in India*, and *Khulasatu-t-tawarikh*,² a valuable epitome of the history of Hindustan. I little imagined that I should then have to exhibit him otherwise than his demeanour and instructive discourse made him appear to me. In our graver conversation I was amused with a discourse on the rules of government, and instructions for the guidance of ambassadors, which my better acquaintance with Chand discovered to be derived from that writer. He carried me, accompanied by a single domestic, to various apartments in the palace, whence he directed my view across the vast plains of the desert, whose monarch I envied not. The low hills in the vicinity alone broke the continuity of this arid region, in which a few isolated nim trees were thinly scattered, to remind one of the absence of all that is grand in vegetation. After a visit of several hours, I descended to my tent, and found my friends, Captain Waugh and Major Gough, just returned from a successful chase of an antelope, which, with the aid of some Rohilla greyhounds, they had run down. I attributed their success to the heavy

¹ [In 1839, in consequence of the misgovernment of Mān Singh, a force was sent by the British Government and Jodhpur was occupied. He entered into a treaty securing a cessation of his tyrannical acts. He died on September 5, 1843.]

² [An abstract of the *Khulāsatu-t-tawārīkh* of Subhān Rāo is given in Elliot-Dowson viii. 5 ff.]

sands, on which I have witnessed many pulled down by dogs of little speed ; but the secret was revealed on this animal being sent to the *cuisinier*. On depriving him of his hide, between it and the flesh the whole carcase was covered with a large, inert, amorphous white maggot. The flesh was buried in the sands, and no venison appeared again on my table while in India.¹

Mandor. Ráthor Cenotaphs.—November 8.—I set out early this morning to ramble amidst the ruins of the ancient capital, Mandor, an important link in the chain of archaeological research, before the *panchranga*, or ‘ five-coloured banner ’ of Maru was prostrated to the crescent. Attended by an escort provided by the Raja, I left the perambulator behind ; but as the journey occupied an hour and a quarter, and at a very slow pace, the distance must be under five miles. I proceeded through the Sojat gate, to [722] gain the road leading to Nagor ; shortly after which I passed the Maha Mandir, or ‘ Grand Minster,’ the funds for the erection of which were provided by Raja Man on his escape from ruin at Jalor. I skirted the range, gradually decreasing in height for three miles, in a N.N.E. direction. We then altered our course to N.N.W., and entered the gorge of the mountains which envelop all that is hallowed of the relics of the princes of this house. The pass is narrow ; the cliffs are almost perpendicular, in which are numerous caves, the abodes of ascetics. The remains of fortifications thrown across, to bar the entrance of the foe to the ancient capital of the Pariharas, are still visible : a small stream of pure and sweet water issues from this opening, and had a watercourse under an archway. After proceeding a little farther, the interval widened, and passing through the village, which does not exceed two hundred houses, our attention was attracted by a line of lofty temples, rising in graduated succession. These proud monuments proved to be the cenotaphs of the Rathors, erected on the spots where the funeral pyre consumed the crowned heads of Maru, who seldom burnt alone, but were accompanied by all that made life agreeable or poisoned its enjoyment. The small brook already mentioned flows past the southern extremity of

¹ [Professor E. B. Poulton kindly sends a note from Colonel J. W. Yerbury, who writes : “ Although no record exists of the occurrence of *Hypoderma* in Hindustan, I think there is no doubt that the maggots are the larvae of either *H. diaua* or *H. acteon*. They have been found in antelopes—*Antelope saiga*—and *dorcas* brought to Italy from the East.”]

the chief line of monuments, which extend from south to north. At the former point stands that of Rao Maldeo, the gallant opponent of Sher Shah, the brave usurper of the throne of the Moguls. The farther point terminates with that of Maharaja Ajit Singh; while the princes in regular succession, namely, Sur Singh, Udai Singh, Gaj Singh, and Jaswant Singh, fill up the interval.

These dumb recorders of a nation's history attest the epochs of Marwar's glory, which commenced with Maldeo, and ended with the sons of Ajit. The temple-monument of Maldeo, which yet throws into shade the still more simple shrines of Chonda, and Jodha, contrasted with the magnificent mausoleum of Raja Ajit, reads us a lesson on the advancement of luxurious pomp in this desert State. The progression is uniform, both in magnitude and elegance, from Maldeo's who opposed on equal terms the Afghan king (whose memorable words, "I had nearly lost the throne of India for a handful of barley,"¹ mark at once the gallantry and the poverty of those whom he encountered), to the last great prince Ajit. Even that of Raja Gaj is plain, compared to his successor's. These monuments are all erected of a very close-grained freestone, of a dark brown or red [723] tint, with sufficient hardness to allow the sculptor to indulge his fancy. The style of architecture, or rather the composition, is mixed, partaking both of the Saivite and the Buddhist; but the details are decidedly Jain, more especially the columns, which are of the same model as those in Kumbhalmer. I speak more especially of those of Rajas Jaswant and Ajit, drawings of which, on a large scale, executed by the Raja's chief architect, I brought to Europe; but which it would be too expensive to have engraved. They are raised on immense terraces, faced with large blocks of well-polished freestone. That of Jaswant is somewhat ponderous and massive; but Ajit's rises with great elegance and perfect symmetry of proportion.

On ascending the terrace you enter through a lofty vaulted porch supported by handsome columns to the sanctum, which is a pyramidal temple, four stories in height, in the Saivite style,

¹ [Sher Shāh, after his victory over Rāja Māldeo in A.D. 1544, said that "for a handful of millet (*juār*) he had almost lost the empire of India" (Ferishta ii. 123; Manucci i. 117). The author quotes this saying twice later on.]

crowned by the *sikhar* and *kalas*, elsewhere described. The sculptural ornaments are worthy of admiration, both for their design and effect; and the numerous columns on the basement, and different stages of ascent, give an air of so much majesty that one might deem these monuments more fitting sepulture for the Egyptian Cheops than a shrine—over what? not even the ashes of the desert king, which were consigned in an urn to the bosom of the Ganges. If the foundations of these necrological monuments have been equally attended to with the superstructure, they bid fair to convey to remote posterity the recollection of as conspicuous a knot of princely characters as ever followed each other in the annals of any age or country. Let us place them in juxtaposition with the worthies of Mewar and the illustrious scions of Timur, and challenge the thrones of Europe to exhibit such a contemporaneous display of warriors, statesmen, or scholars.

Mewar.	Marwar.	Delhi.
Rana Sanga .	Rao Maldeo .	Babur and Sher Shah.
<div data-bbox="94 830 329 931" style="border: 1px solid black; width: 200px; height: 50px; margin: 5px 0;"></div>	Rao Sur Singh .	Humayun.
Rana Partap .	Raja Udai Singh .	Akbar.
Rana Amra I. .	Raja Gaj Singh .	{ Jahangir and Shah Jahan.
Rana Karan .		
Rana Raj .	Raja Jaswant Singh	Aurangzeb.
Rana Jai Singh .	Raja Ajit Singh .	{ All the competitors for the throne after Farrukhsiyar [724].
Rana Amra II. .		

From Maldeo to Udai *le gros* the first *Raja* (hitherto *Raos*) of Marwar, and the friend of Akbar, to Jaswant, the implacable foe of Aurangzeb, and Ajit, who redeemed his country from oppression, all were valiant men and patriotic princes.

“Where were the lions’ cubs,” I asked of my conductor, “the brave sons of Ajit, who erected this monument to his manes, and who added provinces to his dominions?” He pointed to two sheds, where the *kriya karma*¹ was performed; there was

No funeral urn
To mark their obsequies :

¹ [Funeral rite.]

but these lowly sheds told, in more forcible, more emphatic language, the cause of this abrupt transition from grandeur to humility than pen ever wrote ; and furnished the moral epilogue to the eventful drama of the lives of these kings of the desert. Abhai Singh's parricidal hand bereft his father of life ; yet though his career was one splendid tissue of success and honour, leaving his dominions more than doubled, the contentions of his issue with that of his brother Bakhta Singh, alike accessory, it is said, to the crime, have entailed endless misery upon Marwar, and left them not the power, if they had the inclination, to house his ashes. In the same line with the parricide and his brave brother is the humble monument of the great Bijai Singh, whose life till towards its close was a continued tide of action. I could not avoid an exclamation of surprise : " Shame to the country," I said, " that has neglected to enshrine the ashes of a name equal to the proudest ! " His three sons, amongst them Zalim Singh, with the sketch of whom this narrative opened, have their shrines close to his ; and but a few yards removed are those of Raja Bhim, and his elder brother Guman (who died in his minority), the father of the reigning prince, Raja Man. The last, which closed the line, pertained to Chhattar Singh, who, in all probability, was saved by death from the murder of his parent. I passed it in disgust, asking who had been so foolish as to entomb his ashes better than those of some of the worthies of his race ? I found that it was the act of maternal fondness.

Ancestor Worship. Sati.—The Amavas (the Ides) and the Sankrantis (when the sun enters a new sign of the Zodiac) of every month are sacred to the Pitrideva, on which days it is incumbent on the reigning prince to " give water " to his ancestors. But the ignorance of my conductor deprived me of much information which I anticipated [725] ; and had I not been pretty well read in the chronicles of the Rathors, I should have little enjoyed this visit to a " nation's dust." They related one fact, which was sufficient to inspire horror. No less than sixty-four females accompanied the shade of Ajit to the mansion of the sun. But this is twenty short of the number who became Satis when Raja Budh Singh of Bundi was drowned ! The monuments of this noble family of the Haras are far more explicit than those of the Rathors, for every such Sati is sculptured on a small altar in the centre of the cenotaph : which speaks in distinct language the all-

powerful motive, vanity, the principal incentive to these tremendous sacrifices. Budh Singh was a contemporary of Ajit, and one of the most intrepid generals of Aurangzeb ; the period elapsed is about one hundred and twenty years. Mark the difference ! When his descendant, my valued friend, the Rao Raja Bishan Singh, died in 1821, his last commands were that none should give such a proof of their affection. He made me guardian of his infant heir ;—in a few days I was at Bundi, and his commands were religiously obeyed.

In this account are enumerated the monumental relics below the fort. Upon the mountain, and beyond the walls of the fortress of Mandor, are the *dewals* of Rao Ranmall, Rao Ganga, and Chonda, who conquered Mandor from the Parihars. Within a hundred yards of this trio of worthies of this house is a spot set apart for the queens who die natural deaths. But this is anticipating ; let me in form conduct my readers step by step from the cemetery of the Rathors to the Cyclopean city of the Parihars.

Whoever has seen Cortona, Volterra, or others of the ancient Tuscan cities can form a correct idea of the walls of Mandor, which are precisely of the same ponderous character. It is singular that the ancient races of India, as well as of Europe (and whose name of Pali is the synonym of Galati or Keltoi) should, in equal ignorance of the mechanical arts, have piled up these stupendous monuments, which might well induce their posterity to imagine “there were giants in those days.” This western region, in which I include nearly all Rajputana and Saurashtra, has been the peculiar abode of these “pastor kings,” who have left their names, their monuments, their religion and sacred character as the best records of their supremacy. The Rajpali, or ‘Royal Pastors,’ are enumerated as one of the thirty-six royal races of ancient days : the city of Palitana, ‘the abode of the Pali,’ in Saurashtra (built [726] at the foot of Mount Satrunjaya, sacred to Buddha), and Pali in Godwar, are at once evidences of their political consequence and the religion they brought with them ; while the different nail-headed characters are claimed by their descendants, the sectarian Jains of the present day.¹ There is scarcely an ancient city in Rajputana whence I have not

¹ [There is no evidence that the name Pālītāna is connected with a Pālī tribe.]

obtained copies of inscriptions from columns and rocks, or medals, gold, silver, and copper, bearing this antique character. All are memorials of these races, likewise termed Takshak, the Scythic conquerors of India, ancestors of many of the Rajputs, whose history the antiquary will one day become better acquainted with. The Parihara, it will be recollected, is one of the four Agnikulas : races who obtained a footing in India posterior to the Suryas and Indus. I omitted, however, to mention, in the sketch of the Pariharas, that they claim Kāshmir as the country whence they migrated into India : the period is not assigned, but it was when the schismatic wars between the Saivites and Buddhists were carrying on ; and it would appear that the former found proselytes and supporters in many of these Agnikulas. But of the numerical extent of the followers of this faith we have this powerful evidence, namely, that three-fourths of the mercantile classes of these regions are the descendants of the martial conquerors of India, and that seven out of the ten and a half niyats or tribes, with their innumerable branches, still profess the Jain faith, which, beyond controversy, was for ages paramount in this country.

The Walls of Mandor.—Let us now ascend the paved causeway to this gigantic ruin, and leave the description of the serpentine Nagda, which I threaded to its source in the glen of Panchkunda, till our return. Half-way up the ascent is a noble *baoli*, or 'reservoir,' excavated from the solid rock, with a facing of cut stone and a noble flight of steps : on which, however, two enormous *gulars*¹ or wild fig-trees have taken root, and threaten it with premature destruction. This memorial bears the name of Nahar Rao, the last of the Parihars.² As I looked up to the stupendous walls,


Where time hath leant his hand, but broke his scythe,

- I felt the full force of the sentiment of our heart-stricken Byron :

there is a power
And magic in the ruined battlement,
For which the palace of the present hour
Must yield its pomp, and wait till ages are its dower.

¹ [*Ficus glomerata*.]

² [Near the cave an inscription of Kakka Parihār, probably tenth century A.D., has recently been found (Erskine iii. A. 196.)]

Ages have rolled away since these were raised, and ages will yet roll on, and find [727] them immovable, unchanged. The immense blocks are piled upon, and closely fitted to, each other without any cement, the characteristic of all the Etruscan cities termed Cyclopean. We might indeed smuggle a section of Mandor into the pages of Micali,¹ amongst those of Todi or Volterra, without fear of detection. The walls, following the direction of the crest of the ridge, are irregular ; and having been constructed long before artillery was thought of, the Parihar or Pali engineer was satisfied with placing the palace on the most commanding eminence, about the centre of the fortress. The bastions or towers are singularly massive, and like all the most antique, their form is square. Having both fever and ague upon me, I was incapable of tracing the direction of the walls, so as to form any correct judgement of the space they enclose ; but satisfied with gaining the summit, I surveyed the ruin from the site of the palace of the Parihars. The remains, though scanty, are yet visible ; but the materials have been used in the construction of the new capital Jodhpur, and in the cenotaphs described. A small range of the domestic temples of the palace, and some of the apartments, are yet distinctly to be traced ; the sculptured ornaments of their portals prove them to have been the work of a Takshak or Buddhist architect. Symbolical figures are frequently seen carved on the large blocks of the walls, though probably intended merely as guides to the mason. These were chiefly Buddhist or Jain : as the quatre-feuille, the cross ; though the mystic triangle, and triangle within a triangle ² (a sign of the Saivites, only, I believe), was also to be seen. The chief memorials of the Parihara are a gateway and magnificent Toran, or triumphal arch, placed towards the south-east angle of the castle. It is one mass of sculpture ; but the pencil was wanting,

¹ *L'Italie avant la domination des Romains.*

² Amongst ancient coins and medals, excavated from the ruins of Ujjain and other ancient cities, I possess a perfect series with all the symbolic emblems of the twenty-four Jain apostles. The compound equilateral triangle is amongst them : perhaps there were masons in those days amongst the Pali. It is hardly necessary to state that this Trinitarian symbol (the double triangle) occurs on our (so-called) Gothic edifices, e.g. the beautiful abbey gate of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, erected about A.D. 1377. [See Count Goblet D'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, 185 ff.]

and not leisure even to bring away a rude resemblance of a memento of some victory of the ancient lords of Mandor.

Thāna Pir.—A little distance to the northward of my position is the Than or 'station' of a Muhammadan saint, a disciple of the celebrated Khwaja Kutab, whose shrine at Ajmer is celebrated. This of Thana Pir,¹ as they call him, was a place of great resort to the unsanctified Kafirs, the mercenary Sindis and Afghans, who long prowled about these regions in quest of [728] prey, or plunder, or both. Nearly in the same direction, beyond the walls, are the cenotaphs of the early Rathors and the Satis already mentioned; but tradition's voice is mute as to the spot which contains the ashes of the Parihars. To the east and north-east, nature has formed at once a barrier to this antique castle, and a place of recreation for its inhabitants; a lengthened chasm in the whole face, appearing like a dark line, were it not for the superb foliage of gular, mango, and the sacred bar and pipal, which rise above the cleft, planted about the fountain and perpendicular cliffs of the Nagda, and which must have proved a luxurious retreat to the princes of Mandor from the reverberation of the sun's rays on the rock-built palace; for there is but a scanty brushwood scattered over the surface, which is otherwise destitute of all vegetation.

Let us now descend by the same causeway to the glen of Panchkunda, where there is much to gratify both the lover of the picturesque and the architectural antiquary. At the foot of the causeway, terminated by a reservoir of good water, are two gateways, one conducting to the gardens and their palaces erected by the Rathors; the other, to the statues of the Paladins of the desert. Leaving both for a moment, I pursued the 'serpentine' rivulet to its fountain, where

Couched among fallen columns, in the shade
Of ruined walls that had survived the names
Of those who reared them,

I reposed in meditative indolence, overwhelmed with the recollections such scenes inspire. In a recess or cave is a rude altar sanctified by the name of Nahar Rao, the famed king of Mandor, who met in equal combat the chivalrous Chauhan in the pass of

¹ [Erskine (iii. A. 197) calls him Tanna Pīr; the shrine was built in the time of Mahārāja Mān Singh, and is held in high estimation.]

the Aravalli.¹ A Nai, or barber, performs worship to of this illustrious Rajput, in whose praise Chand is most eloq^{will yet}. Whence the choice of a barber as a priest I know not ; but as he has the universal care of the material portion of the Rajput, being always chosen as the cook, so there may be reasons for his having had an interest in the immaterial part in olden days, the tradition of which may have been lost. There is a piece of sculpture containing nine figures, said to represent Ravana, who came from "th'utmost isle Taprobane,"² to marry the daughter of the sovereign of Mandor. There was a lengthened legend to account for the name of Nagda, or, 'serpentine,' being applied to the [729] rivulet, but it is too long to relate. We must therefore quit the fountain, where the gallant Prithiraj and his fair bride, the cause of strife between the Chauhans and Pariharas, may have reposed, and visit the most remarkable relic within the precincts of this singular place.

Images of Heroes.—A short distance from the foot of the causeway, an archway opens into an enclosed court or area, in the retired part of which, and touching the mountain, is an extensive saloon ; the roof is supported by a triple row of columns, of that light form peculiar to the Jains. Here are displayed, in all "the pomp and circumstance of war," the statues of the knights-errant of the desert, armed cap-à-pie, bestriding steeds whose names are deathless as their riders', all in the costume of the times in which they lived. They are cut out of the rock, but entirely detached from it, and larger than life. Though more conspicuous for strength than symmetry, the grim visages of these worthies, apparently frowning defiance, each attended by his pandu or squire, have a singularly pleasing effect. Each chieftain is armed with lance, sword, and buckler, with quiver and arrows, and poniard in his girdle. All are painted ; but whether in the colours they were attached to, or according to the fancy of the architect, I know not. Before, however, entering this saloon, we pass a huge statue of Ganesa, placed as the guardian of the portal, having on each side the two Bhairavas, sons of the god of war. Then appears the statue of Chamunda

¹ See p. 793.

² *Tapu Ravana*, 'the isle of Ravana,' wherever that may be. [Taprobane represents the river Tāmraparni, 'the copper-coloured leaf' (*IGI*, xxiii. 215).]

and I haëss of destruction), and that of the terrific mother, this ~~man~~, treading on the black demon Bhainsasur, in whose flank her tiger-courser has buried his bloodthirsty tongue: in each of her eight arms she holds a weapon of destruction. The black ~~airon~~ (son of Time), with a sable flag, bearing argent a horse rampant, marshals the way through the field of blood to his mother. Between her and the heroes whose lives passed "in motion to the sword," is a statue of the Nathji, or 'spiritual guide' of the Rathors: in one hand he holds his *mala* or 'chaplet'; the other his *chhari* or 'patriarchal rod,' for the guidance of his flock. Mallinath¹ heads the procession, mounted on a white charger, with a lance over his shoulder, to which is attached a flag; his quiver resting on his horse's right flank, and his mistress, *Madmavati*, with a platter of food welcoming him from the raid, and who accompanied him when slain to Suryaloka, or 'the mansion of the sun.'

Then follows Pabuji,² mounted on his famous charger 'Black Caesar' (*Kesar* [730] *Kali*), whose exploits are the theme of the itinerant bard and showman, who annually goes his round, exhibiting in pictorial delineations, while he recites in rhyme, the deeds of this warrior to the gossiping villagers of the desert.

Next comes Ramdeo³ Rathor, a name famed in Marudesa, and in whose honour altars are raised in every Rajput village in the country.

Then we have the brave Harbuji Sankhla,⁴ to whom Jodha was indebted for protection in his exile, and for the redemption of Mandor when seized by the Rana of Chitor.

Guga,⁵ the Chauhan, who with his forty-seven sons fell defending the passage of the Suttlej on Mahmud's invasion. Mehaji Mangalia brings up the rear, a famous chieftain of the Guhilot

¹ [Eldest son of Rāo Salkha, one of the early traditional ancestors of the Jodhpur chiefs, after whom the Mallāni district is named.]

² [A Rāthor chief, who first brought the camel into use, and was noted for protecting cows.]

³ [A Tonwar or Tuar Rājput, of the family of Anangpāl of Delhi, now worshipped under the name of Rāmsūh Pīr.]

⁴ [A Panwār Rājput, of Bengti, near Phalodi, where his cart is still worshipped.]

⁵ [Gūgaji or Guggaji, already mentioned (p. 807 above), said to have been killed in battle with Fīroz Shāh of Delhi, at the end of the thirteenth century A.D.]

race. It would be tedious to relate any of the exploits of these worthies.

Taintis Kula Devata Ra Thān.—Another saloon, of similar architecture and still greater dimensions, adjoins that just described; it is termed Taintis kula¹ devata ra than, or ‘abode of the (tutelary) divinities of the thirty-three races’: in short, the Pantheon of the Rajputs. The statues are of gypsum, the stone covered with that substance; they are of large proportion. First, is the creator, Brahma; then Surya, ‘the sun-god,’ with his seven-headed steed; then the monkey-faced deity, Hanuma; Rama, and his beloved Sita; Kanhaiya, in the woods of V, surrounded by the Gopis; and a most grave figure of Mahadev with a bull in his hand. These six, with the goddesses of life and death, and of wisdom, constitute the eight chief divinities of the Hindus; whose qualities and attributes, personified, form an assemblage for which St. Peter’s and the Vatican to boot would be a confined dwelling.

Palace and Gardens.—I now retired to the palace and garden built by Raja Ajit; of which, however superb, it is impossible for the pen to give a definite idea. Suites of colonnaded halls, covered with sculpture of easy and even graceful execution, some with screens of lattice-work to secure the ladies from the public gaze, are on the lower range; while staircases lead to smaller apartments intended for repose. The gardens, though not extensive as may be supposed, being confined within the adamant wall reared by the hand of Nature, must be delightfully cool even in summer. Fountains, reservoirs, and water-courses, are everywhere interspersed; and though [731] the thermometer in the open air was 86°,² the cold within doors (if this be not a solecism, considering that there were no doors) was excessive. Some attention was paid to its culture; besides many indigenous shrubs, it boasted of some exotics. There was the golden champa,³ whose

¹ I imagine the word *kula*, or ‘race,’ of which, as often remarked, there are not thirty-three but thirty-six, has given rise to the assertion respecting the thirty-three crore or millions of gods of Hindustan [more probably only an indefinite number].

² Thermometer 55°, 72°, 86°, 80° at daybreak, ten, two, and at sunset on the 3rd November, the day of our arrival, the variations were 50°, 72°, 80°, and 75° at those hours.

³ [*Michelia champaka*.]

aroma is overpowering, and if laid upon the pillow will produce headache ; the pomegranate, at once " rich in flower and fruit " ; the apple of Sita, or Sitaphala, which, from similitude of taste, we call the custard-apple ; a delicious species of the plantain, whose broad, verdant, glossy leaf alone inspires the mind with the sensation of coolness ; the mogra ;¹ the chameli, or jessamine ; and the queen of flowers, the barahmasha,² literally the ' twelve-month,' because it flowers throughout the year. It is a delightful sight, and I felt a peculiar interest in it. Let the reader imagine the picture of a solitary Englishman scribbling amidst the ruins of Mandor : in front a group of venerable mango-trees ; a little farther an enormous isolated tamarind, " planted by the hand of a juggler in the time of Nahar Rao, the last of the Pariharas, before whom he exhibited this proof of legerdemain," and, as the legend goes, from whose branches the juggler met his death :³ amidst its boughs the long-armed tribe, the allies of Rama, were slipping and chattering unmolested ; while beneath, two Rathor Rajputs were stretched in sleep, their horses dozing beside them, standing as sedately as the statue of ' Black Caesar ' : a grenadier Sepoy of my escort parading by a camp-basket, containing the provender of the morning, completes the calm and quiet scene.

An Atit Hermit.—On the summit of the rock, across the narrow valley, several *guphas*, or caves, the abode of the hermit Atit,⁴ were in sight. How the brains of these ascetics can stand the hot and confined air is a wonder, though, if they possessed any

¹ [The double jasmine, *Jasminum zambak*.]

² [Sir D. Prain, who has kindly investigated this flower, identifies it with a species of *Bauhinia*. He remarks that "*B. acuminata*, which differs from *B. purpurea* and *B. variegata*, both in being a smaller plant and in beginning to flower when *B. variegata* does, goes on flowering all through the rains, and still continues to flower when *B. purpurea* is in blossom. It does not flower all the year round in Bengal, and I doubt if it does so in Rājputāna, though Balfour in his *Cyclopaedia* suggests that it does so. My idea is that the term *bārah-māsha* in Upper India should not be taken too literally, and that it is only a figurative way of saying that the particular *Bauhinia* is in flower alongside of both the others when flowering seasons are separated half the year."]

³ See the Autobiography of Jahangir, translated by that able Oriental scholar, Major Price [p. 96 f.], for the astonishing feats these jugglers perform in creating not only the tree but the fruit.

⁴ [The Atit is a mendicant follower of Siva, and the term is usually equivalent to Sannyāsi.]

portion of that which is supposed to be necessary to the guidance of the machine, they would scarcely occupy such a position, consequently, the world's attention. *Mais tout est vanité*, a cat which has produced ten times the number of saints that has, and ten times of ten these troglodyte philosophers. He walked out on the terrace or house-top of the palace, to catch sunbeam and scare away an ague which tormented me, I discovered one of these animals coiled up on a heap of bat's droppings [732], in a corner of an apartment of the palace. He was fully emaciated, and but for the rolling of a pair of eyes in a vacant covered with hair, there was nothing which betokened animal much less humanity. There was none but the bat to dispute his reign, or "the spider which weaves its web in this palace of the Caesars." I had no inclination to disturb the process of ratification, or to ask to which sect of philosophers belonged the Diogenes of Mandor, who might, if he had utterance, have desired me to walk downstairs, and not intercept the sunbeam for whose warmth we were competitors. The day was now nearly departed and it was time for me to return to my friends in camp. I finished the evening by another visit to the knights of the desert; and inscribing my name on the foot of 'Black Caesar,' bade adieu to the ancient Mandor.

November 13.—The Raja having invited us to a dinner at the palace, we sallied forth, belted and padded, to partake of Rajpoot hospitality. He had made a request which will appear somewhat strange—that we would send our cuisine, as the fare of the desert might prove unpalatable; but this I had often seen done at Sindhia's camp, when joints of mutton, fowls, and fricassees would diversify the provender of the Mahratta. I intimated that we had no apprehension that we should not do justice to the gastronomy of Jodhpur; however, we sent our tables, and some claret to drink long life to the king of Marudes. Having paid our respects to our host, he dismissed us with the complimentary wish that appetite might wait upon us, and, preceded by a host of gold and silver sticks, we were ushered into a hall, where we found the table literally covered with curries, pillaus, and ragouts of every kind, in which was not forgotten the *harira mung Mandor ra*, the 'green pulse of Mandor,' the favourite dish, next to *rabri* or maize-porridge, of the simple Rathor. Here, however, we saw displayed the dishes of both the Hindu and Musulman, and nearly all were

served in silver. The curries were excellent, especially those of the vegetable tribes made of the pulses, the kakris or cucumbers, and of a miniature melon not larger than an egg, which grows spontaneously in these regions, and is transported by kasids, or carriers, as presents, for many hundreds of miles around. The hall was an entire new building, and scarcely finished; it is erected on the northern projection of the rock, where the escarpment is most abrupt, and looks down upon the site of the batteries of the league of 1806. It is called the Man mahall [733], and, like a hall of audience, its flat roof is supported by numerous massive columns. The view from it to the east is extensive, and we were told that the pinnacle of Kumbhalmer, though eighty miles distant, has been seen, in those clear days of the monsoon when the atmosphere is purified, after heavy showers, from the sand which is held suspended. Great care was taken that our meal should be uninterrupted, and that we should not be the lions to an hour's amusement of the court. There was but one trivial occurrence to interrupt the decorum and attention of all present, and that was so slight that we only knew it after the entertainment was over. One of the menials of the court, either from ignorance or design, was inclined to evince contumely or bad breeding. It will be considered perhaps a singular circumstance that the Hindu should place before a European the vessels from which he himself eats: but a little fire purifies any metallic vessels from all such contamination; and on this point the high-blooded Rajput is less scrupulous than the bigoted Muhammadan, whom I have seen throw on the ground with contempt a cup from which his officer had drunk water on a march. But of earthenware there can be no purification. Now there was a handsome china bowl, for which some old dowager fancier of such articles would have almost become a suppliant, which having been filled with curds to the Sudra Farangis could no longer be used by the prince, and it was brought by this menial, perhaps with those words, to my native butler. Kali Khan, or, as we familiarly called him, 'the black lord,' was of a temper not to be trifled with; and as the domestic held it in his hand, saying, "Take it, it is no longer of any use to us," he gave it a tap with his hand which sent it over the battlements, and coolly resuming his work, observed, "That is the way in which all useless things should be served"; a hint which, if reported to Raja Man, he seems to have acted on: for

not many months after, the minister, Akhai Chand, who dreaded lest European influence should release his master from his facti and thralldom, was treated by him in the same manner as a china bowl by Kali Khan.

The Rāja visits the Author.—November 16.¹—This day had been fixed for the Raja's visits to the envoy. In order to display his grandeur, he sent his own suite of tents, which were erected near mine [734]. They were very extensive, modelled in every way after those of the Emperors of Delhi, and lined throughout with the royal colour, crimson: but this is an innovation, as it appears from the formulas yet preserved of his despatches, "In the foot of the throne, Jodhpur." The tent, in fact, was a palace in miniature, the whole surrounded by walls of cloth, to keep at a distance the profane vulgar. The *gaddi*, or royal cushioned canopy, was placed in the central apartment. At three, all was noise and bustle in the castle and town; *nakkaras* were reverberating, trumpets sounding the alarm, that the King of Mewar was about to visit the Farangi Wakil. As soon as the flags and pennant were observed winding down 'the hill of strife' (Jodha-gir), I mounted, and with the gentlemen of my suite proceeded through the town to meet the Raja. Having complimented him *en route*, we returned and received him at the tents. The escort drawn up at the entrance of the tent presented arms, the officers saluting; a mark of attention which gratified him, as did the soldier-like appearance of the men. Hitherto, what he had seen of regulars belonging to the native powers was not calculated to give him a favourable impression of foot-soldiers, who are little esteemed by the equestrian order of Rajputana. His visit continued about an hour, when the shields were brought in, with jewels, brocades, shawls, and other finery, in all nineteen trays, being two less than I presented to the Rana of Udaipur. I likewise presented him with some arms of English manufacture, a telescope, and smaller things much valued by the Rajputs. After the final ceremony of perfumes, and *itr-pan* (which are admirable hints when you wish to get rid of a tiresome guest, though not so in this instance), the exterior wall was removed, and showed the caparisoned elephant and horses, which were part of the *khilat*. At the door of the tent we made our *salaam*, when the Raja gave me his hand, which, by the by, was his first salutation on receiving

¹ Thermometer 59°, 82°, 85°, 79°.

me. It is an ancient Rajput custom, and their bards continuallyude to extending the right hand—"dextra extenta."

Taking Leave of the Rāja.—*November 17.*¹—I went to take of the Raja : I had a long and interesting conversation on our last interview. I left him in the full expectation that his energy of character would surmount the difficulties by which he was surrounded, though not without a struggle, and condign punishment to some of the miscreants, the misleaders of his son, the assassins of his minister and high priest, and consequently the authors of his humiliating and protracted incarceration [735]. Whether first-gratification of vengeance provoked his appetite, or whether the torrent of his rage, once impelled into motion, became impetuous to be checked, so that his reason was actually subdued by the sufferings he had undergone, it is certain he grew demoniac ; nor could any one, who had conversed with the Raja, and, the gentlemanly, I might say gentle, Raja Man, have imagined that he concealed under this exterior a heart so malignant as his subsequent acts evinced. But the day of retribution must arrive ; the men who wrote that dignified remonstrance, which was given in another place,² will not tamely bear their wrongs, and as they dare not levy war against their prince, who reposes under British protection, the dagger will doubtless find a way to reach him even in "the thousand-columned hall" of Jodhpur.

Besides the usual gifts at parting, which are matter of etiquette, and remain untouched by the individual, I accepted as a personal token of his favour, a sword, dagger, and buckler, which had belonged to one of his illustrious ancestors. The weight of the sword, which had often been "the angel of death," would convince any one that it must have been a nervous arm which carried it through a day. With mutual good wishes, and a request for a literary correspondence, which was commenced but soon closed, I bade adieu to Raja Man and the capital of Marwar [736].

¹ Thermometer 59°, 73°, 89°, 82° ; at six, ten, two, and sunset.

² See Vol. I. p. 228.

CHAPTER 28

Nāndla.—November 19.—We broke ground for Nandla, distant six miles. The first two miles from the capital was through deep sand; for the remainder of the journey the red sandstone protruded, which gives some relief to the footing of the traveller. About half-way we passed a small sheet of water, called after the mother of the pretender, Dhonkal Singh, the Shaikhawat Talao. This lady has constructed a dharmasala, or 'hall for travellers' on its bank, where she has erected a statue of Hanumān, a pillar to commemorate her own good works. Not a shrub of magnitude occurs, for even the stunted khair¹ is rare in this of sand; which does not, however, appear unfavourable to the moth,² a vetch on which they feed the cattle. Near the village we crossed the Jogini, the same stream which we passed between Jhalamand and the capital, and which, joined by the Nagda from Mandor, falls into the Luni. The only supply of water for Nandla is procured from two wells dug on the margin of the stream. The water is abundant, and only four feet from the surface, but brackish. There are a hundred and twenty-five houses in Nandla, which is in the fief of the chieftain of Ahor. A few cenotaphs are on the banks of a tank, now dry. I went to look at them, but they contained names "unknown to fame."

Bisalpur.—Bisalpur, the next place, is distant six estimated coss of the country, and [737] thirteen miles one furlong by the perambulator: heavy sand the whole way. Nevertheless we saw traces of the last autumnal crop of bajra and juar, two species of millet, which form the chief food of the people of the desert; and the vetch was still in heaps. Bisalpur is situated on a rising ground; the houses are uniform in height and regularly built, and coated with a compost of mud and chaff, so that its appearance is picturesque. It is protected by a circumvallation of thorns, the *kanta-ka-kot* and the stacks of chaff, as described at Indara. They are pleasing to the eye, as is everything in such a place which shows the hand of industry. There was an ancient city here in former days, which was engulfed by an earthquake,

¹ [*Acacia catechu.*]

² [The aconite-leaved kidney-bean, *Phaseolus aconitifolius.*]

though part of a gateway and the fragment of a wall still mark the site. No inscriptions were observed. The water is obtained from a lake.

Pachkalia, Bichkalia.—*November 21.*—Pachkalia, or Bichkalia, five coss (11 miles 5 furlongs): crossed and encamped on the Jōjri. The soil improving, of a brown sandy texture. Wheat and barley of excellent quality are grown on the banks of the river. It was a relief to meet once more a babul or a nim tree; even our Godwar cypress reared its head on the margin of the Jōjri. Although now only containing a hundred houses, this was once a place of some importance. I found a defaced inscription, in which “the son of Sonang, S. 1224,” was still legible; the mercenary Pathans have ruined the harvest of the wariy. The village is a grant in fee to a Bhatti chieftain. Water is obtained from wells excavated on the margin of the river.

Pipār.—*November 22.*—Pipar, four coss (8 miles 2 furlongs). Pursued the course of the river, the most extended arm of the Luni, coming from the hills near Parbatsar, on the frontiers of Jaipur. Its course is marked by the trees already mentioned. The soil, a mixture of black earth and sand, is termed *dhamani*. Pipar is a town of 1500 houses, one-third of which are inhabited by the Oswals of the Jain faith, the chief merchants of all their country. There are also about two hundred families of Mahesris, or merchants of the Saiva caste. Pipar carries on a considerable traffic, and has a chintz manufactory, which employs thirty families. It is in the grant of the feudal chief of Nimaj, whose death has been already related. A cenotaph, dedicated to one of his ancestors, has been half destroyed by the Goths of India. Pipar is celebrated in the traditions of the desert as one of the cities [738] founded by Gandharvasen, the Pramara monarch of Avanti, prior to the Christian era.¹ The only inscription I discovered was in a temple of the sea-goddess Lakshmi. It bore the names of Bijai Singh and Delanji, Rajputs of the Guhilot race, with the ancient title of Rawal. It was a happy confirmation of the most ancient chronicle of Mewar, which divides the Guhilots into twenty-four *sakha* or branches, of which one is called ‘Piparia,’ doubtless from their having conquered this tract from the Takshak Pramara.

¹ [See p. 913, below.]

There is an abundance of wells, from sixty to eighty feet in depth. Of one recently excavated, I obtained the following details of the strata, which may be gratifying to the geologist. The first twenty feet are composed entirely of that kind of earth called *dhamani*, chiefly decomposed sandstone with a mixture of black earth, in which occurs a stratum of bluish clay mixed with particles of quartz: this earth is called *morar* in Marwar, and *morand* in Jaipur. It was then necessary to cut through a rock of red granite¹ for thirty feet; then several feet of an almost milk-white steatite, succeeded by stalactitic concretions of sandstone and quartz.

Legend of the Sāmpu Lake.—Good water is also obtained from a lake called the Sāmpu, which is connected with the tradition of the foundation of Pipar. A Brahman of the Pali tribe, whose name was Pipa, was in the habit of carrying milk to a deity of the Serpent (Takshak) race, whose retreat was on the banks of this lake, and who deposited two pieces of gold in return for the Paliwal's offering. Being compelled to go to Nagor, he gave instructions to his son to perform his charitable office; but the youth, deeming it a good opportunity to become master of the treasure, took a stick with him, and when the serpent issued forth for his accustomed fare, he struck him violently; but the snake being "scotched, not killed," retreated to his hole. The young Brahman related his adventure to his mother; when the good woman, dreading the vengeance of the serpentine deity, prepared a servant and bullock to convey her son to his father at Nagor. But what was her horror in the morning, when she went to call the youth, to find, instead of him, the huge serpent coiled up in his bed! Pipa, on his return, was inconsolable; but stifling his revenge, he propitiated the serpent with copious libations of milk. The scaly monster was conciliated, and revealed the stores he guarded to Pipa, commanding him to raise a monument which would transmit a knowledge of the event to future ages [739]. Hence Pipar arose from Pipa the Pali, and the name of the lake Sāmpu, from his benefactor the 'serpent' (sampa). All these allegorical tales regard the Takshak races, the followers of the religion of Buddha or Jaina, and their feuds with the Brahmanical sects. It is evident that Pipa the Pali worshipped both; and the very name

¹ Specimens of all these I brought home.

induces a belief that the whole Paliwal caste are converts from Buddhism.¹

Lākha Phulāni.—There is a kund or fountain, called after Lakha Phulani, who ruled in ancient times at Phulra, in the farther corner of the desert, but carried his arms even to the ocean. Wherever I have travelled, tradition is loud in praise of Phulani, from the source of the Luni to its embouchure in the Delta of the Indus.²

Mādreo.—*November 23.*—Madreo, five coss (10 miles 2 furlongs). Roads good; soil as yesterday, but the country very desolate; only stunted shrubs since we removed from the margin of the river. This is a moderate-sized village, with a tank of good water.

Bharūnda.—*November 24.*—Bharunda, four coss, or eight miles. The face of the country now changes materially; our route was over a low undulating ridge of sandstone, in which the stunted shrubs of this region find a bed. At one time the elevation was sufficiently great to allow the chasm through which the road passed to be dignified with the name of the Ghasuria Pass, in which a party of the Raja's men is posted for defence, and the levy of transit duties. Bharunda is in the fief of Gopal Singh, the chief of Kuchaman, one of the most conspicuous of the Mertia clan. It consists of one hundred and fifty houses; the cultivators are Jats, as are those of all the preceding villages.

I paid a visit to the humble cenotaphs of Bharunda; one of

¹ [This seems to be merely an instance of serpent-worship.]

² The traditional stanzas are invaluable for obtaining a knowledge both of ancient history and geography:

“ Kasyapgarh, Surajpura,
Basakgarh, Tako,
Udhanigarh, Jagrupura,
Jo Phulgarh, i Lakho.”

In this stanza we have the names of six ancient cities in the desert, which belonged to Lakha, the Tako, Tak, or Takshak, i.e. of the race figuratively called the ‘serpent.’ [Many tales are told of Lākha Phulāni, who by one account was a Rāo of Cutch, slain fighting in Kāthiāwār (*BG*, v. 133, viii. 111 note). Others identify him with Lakha, son of Phulada, who defeated the Chaulukya king, Mūlarāja, in the eleventh century (*ibid.* i. Part i. 160). By another account, he was father-in-law of the great Siddharāja (Tod, *WI*, 179). He is mentioned twice later on. He was probably a powerful king of the desert, round whom many legends have collected.]

them bore the name of Badan Singh, a sub-vassal of Kuchaman, who was slain in the heroic charge against De Boigne's brigades, in the patriot field of Merta. His name claims the admiration of all who esteem loyalty and patriotism, the inherent virtues of the chivalrous Rajput. Raja Bijai Singh had resumed Bharunda, when the Thakur [740] retired to the adjacent court of Jaipur, where he was well received according to the hospitable customs of the Rajput, and had risen to favour at the period when the Mahrattas invaded his *bapota*, 'the land of his fathers.' Resentment was instantly sacrificed at the altar of patriotism; he put himself at the head of one hundred and fifty horse, and flew to his sovereign's and his country's defence. Unhappily, the whole Mahratta army interposed between him and his countrymen. To cut their way through all impediments was the instant resolve of Badan and his brave companions. They fell sword in hand upon a multitude; and, with the exception of a few, who forced their way (amongst whom was the chief whose monument is referred to), they were cut to pieces. Badan Singh lived to reach his ancient estate, which was restored to his family in token of his sovereign's gratitude for the gallant deed. It is valued at seven thousand rupees annual rent, and has attached to it, as a condition, the service of defending this post. There was another small altar erected to the manes of Partap, who was killed in the defence of this pass against the army of Aurangzeb.

Indāwar.—*November 25.*—Indawar, five coss (10 miles 2 furlongs). This place consists of two hundred houses; the cultivators are Jats. I have said little of these proprietors of the soil, a sturdy, independent, industrious race, who "venerate the plough," and care little about the votaries of Mars or their concerns, so that they do not impose excessive taxes on them. They are a stout, well-built, though rather murky race. The village is assigned to the ex-prince of Sind, who derives his sole support from the liberality of the princes of Marwar. He is of the tribe called Kalhora,¹ and claims descent from the Abbassides of Persia. His family has been supplanted by the Talpuris, a branch of the

¹ [The Kalhoras, closely allied to the Dāūdputras, rose to power in the Lower Indus valley at the end of the seventeenth century A.D. They trace their origin to Abbās, uncle of the Prophet. They were expelled by Fatch Ali of Tālpur, and the last of the Kalhoras fled to Jodhpur, where his descendants now hold distinguished rank (*IGI*, xxii. 397 ff.).]

Numris (the foxes) of Baluchistan, who now style themselves Afghans, but who are in fact one of the most numerous of the Getae or Jat colonies from Central Asia. But let us not wander from our subject.

I will beg the reader to descend seventy or eighty feet with me to view the stratification of Indawar. First, three feet of good soil; five feet of red sandy earth, mixed with particles of quartz; six feet of an unctuous indurated clay;¹ [741]—then follows a sand-rock, through which it was necessary to penetrate about sixty feet; this was succeeded by twenty feet of almost loose sand, with particles of pure quartz embedded; nodules and stalactitic concretions of sandstone, quartz, and mica, agglutinated together by a calcareous cement. The interior of the well throughout this last stratum is faced with masonry: the whole depth is more than sixty-five cubits, or forty yards. At this depth a spring of excellent water broke in upon the excavators, which supplies Indawar.

Merta.—*November 26.*—Merta, four coss (9 miles 1 furlong). The whole march was one extended plain; the Aravalli towering about twenty-five miles to our right. To the west a wide waste, consisting of plains gently undulating, and covered with grass and underwood. Natural sterility is not the cause of this desert aspect, for the soil is rich; but the water is far beneath the surface, and they cannot depend upon the heavens. Juar, moth, and sesamum were cultivated to a considerable extent in the immediate vicinity of the villages, but the product had this season been scanty. The appearance of the town is imposing, its site being on a rising ground. The spires of the mosque which was erected on the ruins of a Hindu temple by the tyrant Aurangzeb overtop the more ponderous and unaspiring mandirs which surround it. Notwithstanding, this monarch was the object of universal execration to the whole Hindu race, more especially to the Rathors (whose sovereign, the brave Jaswant, together with his elder son, he put to death by poison, and kept Ajit twenty long years from his birthright, besides deluging their fields with the richest blood of his nobles); still, such is Hindu toleration, that a marble is placed, inscribed both in Hindi and Persian, to protect the mosque from violence. This mark of liberality proceeded from the pretender Dhonkal Singh, as if with a view

¹ Mr. Stokes, of the Royal Asiatic Society, pronounces it to be a steatite.

of catching golden opinions from the demoralized Pathans, by whose aid he hoped to regain his rights. But how was he deceived ! His advances were met by the foul assassination, at one fell swoop, of all his party, by the chief of these mercenaries, Amir Khan.

Merta was founded by Rao Duda of Mandor, whose son, the celebrated Maldeo, erected the castle, which he called Malkot.¹ Merta, with its three hundred and sixty townships, became the appanage of his son Jaimall, and gave its name of Mertia to the bravest of the brave clans of the Rathors. Jaimall [742] was destined to immortalize his name beyond the limits of Maru. Distrusted by his father, and likely to be deserving of suspicion, from the very ruse to which Sher Shah acknowledged he owed his safety, he was banished from Marwar. He was hospitably received by the Rana, who assigned to the heir of Mandor the rich district of Badnor, equalling his own in extent, and far richer in soil than the plains he had abandoned. How he testified his gratitude for this reception, nobler pens than mine have related. The great Akbar claimed the honour of having with his own hand sealed his fate : he immortalized the matchlock with which he effected it, and which was also the theme of Jahangir's praise, who raised a statue in honour of this defender of Chitor and the rights of its infant prince.² Abu-l-fazl, Herbert, the chaplain to Sir T. Roe, Bernier, all honoured the name of Jaimall ; and the chivalrous Lord Hastings, than whom none was better able to appreciate Rajput valour, manifested his respect by his desire to conciliate his descendant, the present brave baron of Badnor.³

The town of Merta covers a large space of ground, and is enclosed with a strong wall and bastions, composed of earth to the westward, but of freestone to the east. All, however, are in a state of decay, as well as the town itself, which is said to contain twenty thousand houses. Like most Hindu towns, there is a mixture of magnificence and poverty ; a straw or mud hut adjoins a superb house of freestone, which "shames the meanness" of its neighbour. The castle is about a gun-shot to the south-west of the

¹ Rao Duda had three sons, besides Maldeo ; namely : First, Raemall ; second, Birsingh, who founded Amjera in Malwa, still held by his descendants ; third, Ratan Singh, father of Mira Bai, the celebrated wife of Kumbha Rana.

² [See Vol. I. p. 382, above.]

³ See Vol. I. p. 567.

town, and encloses an area of a mile and a half. Some small sheets of water are on the eastern and western faces. There are plenty of wells about the town, but the water has an unpleasant taste, from filtering through a stiff clay. There are but two strata before water is found, which is about twenty-five feet from the surface : the first a black mould, succeeded by the clay, incumbent on a loose sand, filled with quartzose pebbles of all hues, and those stalactitic concretions which mark, throughout the entire line from Jodhpur to Ajmer, the stratum in which the springs find a current. There are many small lakes around the town, as the Dudasar, or 'lake (*sar*) of Duda' ; the Bejpa, the Durani, the Dangolia, etc.

The Battlefield.—The plain of Merta is one continuous sepulchre, covered with altars to the manes of the warriors who, either in the civil wars which have distracted this State [743], or in the more patriotic strife with the southron Goths, have drenched it with their blood. It is impossible to pass over this memorable field without a reference to these acts ; but they would be unintelligible without going to the very root of dissension, which not only introduced the Mahratta to decide the intestine broils of the Rajput States, but has entailed a perpetuity of discord on that of Marwar. I have already succinctly related the parri-
cidal murder of Raja Ajit, which arose out of the politics of the imperial court, when the Sayyids of Barha¹—the Warwicks of the East—deposed the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, and set up a puppet of their own. With his daughter (whose marriage with the emperor originated, as already recorded, the first grant of land to the East-India Company), he retired to his dominions, leaving his son Abhai Singh at court, and refusing his sanction to the nefarious schemes of the Sayyids. They threatened destruction to Marwar, declaring to the son of Ajit that the only mode of averting its ruin was his own elevation, and his subservience to their views, which object could only be obtained by his father's deposal and death. Even the reasoning resorted to, as well as the dire purpose of the miscreants, is preserved, and may serve as an illustration of Rajput feeling. When Abhai Singh refused or hesitated, he was asked, "*Ma bap ka sakha, ya zamin ka sakha ?*" which, though difficult to render with accuracy, may be translated : "Are you a branch (*sakha*) of the land or

¹ [See Vol. I. p. 467, above.]

of your parents ? ” As before said, land is all in all to the Rajput ; it is preferred to everything : Abhai's reply may therefore be inferred. Immediate installation was to be the reward of his revenging the Sayyids. That nature could produce from the same stock two such monsters as the brothers who effected the deed, is, perhaps, hardly conceivable, and would, probably, not be credited, were not the fact proved beyond doubt. I should desire, for the honour of the Rajput race, whose advocate and apologist I candidly avow myself, to suppress the atrocious record : but truth is dearer even than Rajput character. Of the twelve sons of Ajit, Abhai Singh and Bakhta Singh were the two elder ; both were by the same mother, a princess of Bundi. To Bakhta Singh, who was with his father, the eldest brother wrote, promising him the independent sovereignty of Nagor (where they then were), with its five hundred and fifty-five townships, as the price of murdering their common sire. Not only was the wretch unstartled by the proposition, but he executed the deed with his own hands, under circumstances of unparalleled atrocity. His [744] mother always dreaded the temperament and disposition of Bakhta, who was bold, haughty, impetuous, with a perpetual thirst for action ; and she cautioned her husband never to admit him into his presence after dusk, or when unattended. But the Raja, whose physical strength was equal to his bravery, ridiculed her fears, observing, “ Is he no. my child ? Besides, a slap on the face from me would annihilate the stripling.” Upon receiving the note from his brother, Bakhta, after taking leave of his father, concealed himself in a chamber adjoining that where his parents reposed. When all was still the murderer stole to the bed in which lay the authors of his existence, and from a pallet, on which were placed the arms of Ajit, he seized his sword, and coolly proceeded to exhaust those veins which contained the same blood that flowed in his own. In order that nothing might be wanting to complete the deed of horror, the mother was awakened by the blood of her lord moistening her bosom. Her cries awoke the faithful Rajputs who lay in the adjacent apartments, and who, bursting into the chamber, discovered their prince and father dead : “ Treason had done its worst.” The assassin fled to the roof of the palace, barring the gates behind him, which resisted all attempts to force them until morning, when he threw into the court below the letter of his brother,

exclaiming, "This put the Maharaja to death, not I." Abhai Singh was now their sovereign ; and it is the actual occupant of the throne whom the Rajput deems entitled to his devotion. Eighty-four Satis took place on this dire occasion, the parent of these unnatural regicidal and parricidal sons leading the funeral procession. So much was Ajit beloved, that even men devoted themselves on his pyre. Such was the tragical end of the great Ajit, lamented by his chiefs, and consecrated by the bard, in stanzas in honour of him and in execration of the assassins ; which afford proof of the virtuous independence of the poetic chronicler of Rajasthan.

*Bakhta, Bakhta, bākḥira,
Kyūn mār̥yo Ajmāl¹
Hindwāni ro sevro
Turkāni ka sāl ?*

" Oh Bakhta, in evil hour
Why slew you Ajmāl,
The pillar of the Hindu,
The lance of the Turk ? " [745]²

The Sons of Ajit Singh.—Bakhta Singh obtained Nagor ; and Abhai Singh was rewarded with the viceroyalty of Gujarat, which gift he repaid by aiding in its partition, and annexing the rich districts of Bhinmal, Sanchor, and others, to Marwar ; on which occasion he added Jalor to the domain of his brother Bakhta, or, as the bard styles him, *bad-bakhta*, 'the unfortunate.' This additional reward of parricide has been the cause of all the civil wars of Marwar.

We may slightly notice the other sons of Ajit, whose issue affected the political society of Rajputana. Of these,

Devi Singh was given for adoption to Maha Singh, head of the Champawat clan, he having no heirs. Devi Singh then held Bhinmal, but which he could not retain against the Koli tribes around him, and Pokaran was given in exchange. Sabal Singh, Sawai Singh, and Salim Singh (whose escape from the fate of the chieftain of Nimaj has been noticed) are the lineal issue of this adoption.

¹ The bards give adjuncts to names in order to suit their rhymes : Ajit is the ' invincible ' ; Ajmāl, a contraction of Ajayamāl, ' wealth invincible.'

² [Major Luard's Pandit gives the word in the third line as *sihara* or *sihra*, the veil worn by the bridegroom to avert the Evil Eye.]

Anand Singh, another son of Ajit, was in like manner adopted into the independent State of Idar, and his issue are presumptive to the throne of Marwar.

Effects of Adoption.—From these races we derive the knowledge of a curious fact, namely, that the issue of the young brother maintains a claim, though adopted into a foreign and independent State; while all such claims are totally extinguished by adoption into a home clan. Under no circumstances could the issue of Devi Singh sit on the *gaddi* of Marwar; when adopted into the Champawat clan, he surrendered all claims derived from his birth, which were merged into his vassal rank. Still the recollection must give weight and influence, and it is evident from the boast of the haughty Devi Singh when his head was on the block, that there is danger in these adoptions.

Abhai Singh died, leaving a memorial of his prowess in the splendid additions he made to his territories from the tottering empire of Delhi. He was succeeded by his son Ram Singh, on whose accession his uncle Bakhta sent his aged foster-mother, an important personage in Rajwara, with the *tika* and gifts, and gifts, and other symbols of congratulation. Ram Singh, who had all the impetuosity of his race, received the lady-ambassador with no friendly terms, asking her if his uncle had no better messenger to salute his new sovereign. He refused the gifts, and commanded her to tell his uncle to surrender Jalor. The offended dame [746] extenuated nothing of the insolence of the message. The reply was, however, courteous, implying that both Jalor and Nagor were at his disposal. The same sarcastic spirit soon precipitated matters between them in the following manner.

Kusal Singh of Awa, the premier noble of Marwar, and of all the clans of Champawat, more brave than courtly, was short in stature, sturdy, boorish, and blunt; he became the object of his young sovereign's derision, who used to style him the *gurji gandhak*, or 'turnspit dog,' and who had once the audacity to say, "Come, gurji"; when he received the laconic reproof: "Yes; the gurji that dare bite the lion."

Brooding over this merited retort, he was guilty of another sarcasm, which closed the breach against all reconciliation. One day in the garden of Mandor, he asked the same chief

excellent tree. "The champa," was the reply, "and the garden, as I am of your Rajputs." "Cut it down," said the prince; "root it out; nothing which bears the name of champa shall exist in Marwar."

Kaniram of Asop, the chief of the next most powerful clan, the Kumpawat, was alike the object of this prince's ridicule. His countenance, which was not "cast in nature's finest mould," became a butt for his wit, and he would familiarly say to him, '*ao budha bandar*,' "Come along, old monkey." Boiling with rage, the chief observed, "When the monkey begins to dance, you will have some mirth." Leaving the court, with his brother chieftain of Awa, they collected their retainers and families, and retired to Nagor. Bakhta Singh was absent, but being advised of the locum tenens of his visitors, and of their quarrel with his nephew, he lost no time in joining them. It is said he expostulated with them, and offered himself as mediator; but they swore never again to look in the face of Ram Singh as their sovereign. They offered to place Bakhta Singh on the *gaddi* of Jodha; and threatened, if he refused, to abandon Marwar. He played the part of our Richard for a short time; but the habitual arrogance of his nephew soon brought matters to a crisis. As soon as he heard that the two leaders of all his vassals were received by his uncle, he addressed him, demanding the instant surrender of Jalor. Again he had the courtly reply: "He dare not contend against his sovereign; and if he came to visit him, he would meet him with a vessel of water."¹ War, a [747] horrid civil war, was now decided on; the challenge was given and accepted, and the plains of Merta were fixed upon to determine this mortal strife, in which brother was to meet brother, and all the ties of kin were to be severed by the sword. The Mertia clans, the bravest, as they are the most loyal and devoted, of all the brave clans of Maru, united to a man under the sovereign's standard; the chiefs of Rian, Budsa, Mihtri, Kholar, Bhorawar, Kuchaman, Alniawas, Jusari, Bokri, Bharunda, Irwa, Chandarun, collected around them every vassal who could wield a brand. Most of the clans of Jodha, attracted by the name of

¹ This reply refers to a custom analogous to the Scythic investiture, by offering "water and soil." [The Kols and other forest tribes deliver a handful of soil to a purchaser of a piece of land (Macpherson, *Memorials of Service*, 64).]

swamidharma, 'fidelity to their lord,' united themselves to the Mertias ; though a few, as Ladnun, Nimbi, were on the adverse side ; but the principal leaders, as Khairwa, Govindgarh, and Bhadrarjun, were faithful to their salt. Of the services of others, Ram Singh's insolence deprived him. Few remained neuter. But these defections were nothing to the loss of a body of five thousand Jareja auxiliaries, whom his connexion with a daughter of the prince of Bhuj brought to his aid. When the tents were moved outside the capital, an incident occurred which, while it illustrates the singular character of the Rajput, may be regarded as the real cause of the loss of sovereignty to Ram Singh. An inauspicious raven had perched upon the *kanat*, or wall of the tent in which was the Jareja queen, who, skilled in the art of the *suguni*¹ (augur), determined to avert it. Like all Rajputnis, who can use firearms on occasion, she seized a matchlock at hand, and, ere he "thrice croaked," she shot him dead. The impetuous Raja, enraged at this instance of audacity and disrespect, without inquiry, ordered the culprit to be ~~dragged before~~ him ; nor was his anger assuaged when the name of the Rani was given. He reviled her in the grossest terms : "Tell the Rani," he said, "to depart my dominions, and to return from whence she came." She entreated and conjured him, by a regard to his own safety, to revoke the decree ; but all in vain ; and with difficulty could she obtain a short interview, but without effecting any change in her obdurate lord. Her last words were, "With my exile from your presence, you will lose the crown of Marwar." She marched that instant, carrying with her the five thousand auxiliaries whose presence must have ensured his victory.

The Udawat clans, led by their chiefs of Nimaj, Raepur, and Raus, with all [748] the Karansots under the Thakur of Khinwasar, united their retainers with the Champawats and Kum-pawats under the banners of Bakhta Singh.

Battle between Bakhta Singh and Rāja Rām Singh, A.D. 1752.—Ram Singh's array fell far short of his rival's since the defection of the Jarejas ; yet, trusting to the name of sovereign as "a tower of strength," he boldly marched to the encounter, and when he reached the hostile field encamped near the Ajmer gate of Merta. His rival was not long behind, and marshalled his

¹ *Sugun pherna* means to avert the omen of evil.

clans within three miles of the northern portal, called the gate of Nagor. The spot he chose had a sacred character, and was called Mataji ka Than, where there was a shrine of the Hindu Hecate, with a fountain said to have been constructed by the Pandavas.

Bakhta Singh commenced the battle. Leaving his camp standing, he advanced against his nephew and sovereign, whom he saluted with a general discharge of his artillery. A vigorous cannonade was continued on both sides throughout the day, without a single man seeking a closer encounter. It is no wonder they paused ere the sword was literally drawn. Here was no foreign foe to attack; brother met brother, friend encountered friend, and the blood which flowed in the veins of all the combatants was derived from one common fountain. The reluctance proceeded from the *στροφή*, the innate principle of natural affection. Evening advanced amidst peals of cannon, when an incident, which could only occur in an army of Rajputs, stopped the combat. On the banks of the Bejpa lake, the scene of strife, there is a monastery of Dadupanti ascetics, built by Raja Sur Singh. It was nearly midway between the rival armies, and the shot fell so thick amidst these recluses that they fled in a body, leaving only the old patriarch. Baba (father) Kishandeo disdained to follow his disciples, and to the repeated remonstrances from either party to withdraw, he replied, that if it was his fate to die by a shot he could not avert it; if not, the balls were innoxious: but although he feared not for himself, yet his gardens and monastery were not "charmed," and he commanded them to fight no longer on that ground. The approach of night, and the sacred character of the old abbot Dadupanti, conspired to make both parties obey his commands, and they withdrew to their respective encampments.

The dawn found the armies in battle-array, each animated with a deadly determination. It was Raja Ram's turn to open this day's combat, and he led the van against his uncle. Burning with the recollection of the indignities he had [749] suffered, the chief of Awa, determined to show that "the cur could bite," led his Champawats to the charge against his sovereign. Incited by loyalty and devotion "to the gaddi of Marwar," reckless who was its occupant, the brave Mertias met his onset steel in hand. The ties of kin were forgotten, or if remembered, the sense of the

unnatural strife added a kind of frenzy to their valour, and confirmed their resolution to conquer or die. Here the Mertia, fighting under the eye of this valiant though intemperate prince, had to maintain his ancient fame, as "the first sword of Maru." There his antagonist, the Champawat, jealous of this reputation, had the like incentive, besides the obligation to revenge the insults offered to his chief. The conflict was awful: the chieftains of each valiant clan met hand to hand, singling out each other by name. Sher Singh, chief of all the Mertias, was the first who sealed his devotion by his death. His place was soon filled by his brother, burning for vengeance. Again he cheered on his Mertias to avenge the death of their lord, as he propelled his steed against the chief of the Champawats. They were the sons of two sisters of the Jaipur house, and had hitherto lived in amity and brotherly love, now exchanged for deadly hate. They encountered, when the "cur" bit the dust, and was borne from the field. The loss of their leaders only inflamed the vassals on both sides, and it was long before either yielded a foot of ground. But numbers, and the repeated charges of Bakhta Singh who led wherever his nephew could be found, at length prevailed; though not until the extinction of the clan of Mertia, who, despising all odds, fought unto the death. Besides their head of Rian, there fell the sub-vassals of Irwa, Sewara, Jusari, and Mithri, with his three gallant sons, and almost all their retainers.

The Death of the Mithri Chief.—There is nothing more chivalrous in the days of Edward and Cressy than the death of the heir of Mithri, who, with his father and brothers, sealed his fealty with his blood on this fatal field. He had long engaged the hand of a daughter of a chief of the Narukas, and was occupied with the marriage rites, when tidings reached him of the approach of the rebels to Merta. The knot had just been tied, their hands had been joined—but he was a Mertia—he unlocked his hand from that of the fair Naruki, to court the Apsaras in the field of battle. In the bridal vestments, with the nuptial coronet (*maur*) encircling his forehead, he took his station with his clan in the second day's fight, and "obtained a bride in Indra's [750] abode."¹ The

¹ [The authority quoted by Compton (*Military Adventurers*, 61) speaks of the "serd kopperah wallas" (*zard kaprauāla*, 'those wearing yellow wedding garments'), as the forlorn hope in the battle.]

bards of Maru dwell with delight on the romantic glory of the youthful heir of Mithri, as they repeat in their Doric verse,

Kānān moti bulbula
Gal sonē ki māla
Assi kos khariya āya
Kunwar Mithriwala.¹

The paraphernalia here enumerated are very foreign to the cavalier of the west: "with pearls shining in his ears, and a golden chaplet round his neck, a space of eighty coss came the heir of Mithri."

The virgin bride followed her lord from Jaipur, but instead of being met with the tabor and lute, and other signs of festivity, wail and lamentation awaited her within the lands of Mithri, where tidings came of the calamity which at once deprived this branch of the Mertias of all its supporters. Her part was soon taken; she commanded the pyre to be erected; and with the turban and *tora*² which adorned her lord on this fatal day, she followed his shade to the mansions of the sun. I sought out the cenotaph of this son of honour in the blood-stained field; but the only *couronne immortelle* I could wreath on the sandy plain was supplied by the Bardai, whose song is full of martial fire as he recounts the gallantry of Kunwar Mithriwala.

The Mertias, and their compeers on the side of the prince, made sad havoc amongst their opponents; and they still maintain that it was owing to the artillery alone that they were defeated. Their brave and loyal leader, Sher Singh of Rian, had fruitlessly endeavoured to recall his brother-in-law from the path of treason, but ineffectually; he spoke with sarcasm of his means to supplant Ram Singh by his uncle. The reply of the old baron of Awa is characteristic: "At least I will turn the land upside down"; to which Sher Singh rejoined, angrily, he would do his best to prevent him. Thus they parted; nor did they meet again till in arms at Merta.

In surveying this field of slaughter, the eye discerns no *point d'appui*, no village or key of position, to be the object of a struggle: nothing to obstruct the doubly-gorged falconet, which has no

¹ [Major Luard's Pandit reads in the first line *bhālbbhala*, 'a lustre,' and in the third *kharohō*, 'rode hard.']

² [A neck ornament.]

terrors for the uncontrollable valour of the Rathor ; it is but a level plain, extended to the horizon, and now covered with the memorials of this day's strife. Here appears the columnar mausoleum, with its airy cupola ; there the humble altar, with its simple record of the name, clan, and *sakha* of him whose ashes repose beneath, with the date of the event [751], inscribed in rude characters. Of these monumental records I had copies made of about a score ; they furnish fresh evidence of the singular character of the Rajput.

Ram Singh retired within the walls of the city, which he barricaded ; but it being too extensive to afford the chance of defence against the enemy, he formed the fatal resolution of calling to his aid the Mahrattas, who were then rising into power. At midnight he fled to the south ; and at Ujjain found a Mahratta leader, Jai Apa Sindhia, with whom he concerted measures for the invasion of his country. Meantime his uncle being master of the field, repaired, without loss of time, to the capital, where he was formally enthroned ; and his *an* was proclaimed throughout Marwar. As skilful as he was resolute, he determined to meet on his frontier the threatened invasion, and accordingly advanced to Ajmer, in order to interpose between the Mahrattas and Jaipur, whose prince, Isari Singh,¹ was father-in law to his rival. He wrote him a laconic epistle, requiring him either instantly to unite with him in attacking the Mahrattas, or declare himself his foe. The Jaipur prince had many powerful reasons for not supporting Raja Bakhta, but he at the same time dreaded his enmity. In this extremity, he had recourse to an expedient too common in cases of difficulty. Concerting with his wife, a princess of Idar (then ruled by one of the sons of Ajit), the best mode of extrication from his difficulties, he required her aid to revenge the foul murder of Ajit, and to recover his son's right. "In either case," said he, "the sword must decide, for he leaves me no alternative : against him I have no hopes of success ; and if I march to the aid of an assassin and usurper, I lose the good opinion of mankind." In short, he made it appear that she alone could rescue him from his perils. It was therefore resolved to punish one crime by the commission of another. Isari Singh signified his assent ; and to lull all suspicion, the Rathorn was to visit her uncle in his camp on the

¹ [Isari Singh, Mahārāja of Jaipur, A.D. 1742-60.]

frontier of the three States of Mewar, Marwar, and Amber. The golden robe was the medium of revenge. Raja Bakhta, after the arrival of his niece, was declared in a fever; the physician was summoned: but the man of secrets, the Vaidya, declared he was beyond the reach of medicine, and bade him prepare for other scenes. The intrepid Rathor, yet undismayed, received the tidings even with a jest: "What, Suja," said he, "no cure? Why do you take my lands and eat their produce, if you cannot combat my maladies? What is your art good for?" The Vaidya excavated a [752] small trench in the tent, which he filled with water; throwing into it some ingredient, the water became gelid. "This," said he, "can be effected by human art; but your case is beyond it: haste, perform the offices which religion demands." With perfect composure he ordered the chiefs to assemble in his tent; and having recommended to their protection, and received their promise of defending the rights of his son, he summoned the ministers of religion into his presence. The last gifts to the church, and these her organs, were prepared; but with all his firmness, the anathema of the Satis, as they ascended the funeral pyre on which his hand had stretched his father, came into his mind; and as he repeated the ejaculation, "May your corpse be consumed in foreign land!" he remembered he was then on the border. The images which crossed his mental vision it is vain to surmise: he expired as he uttered these words; and over his remains, which were burnt on the spot, a cenotaph was erected, and is still called Bura Dewal, the 'Shrine of Evil.'

But for that foul stain, Raja Bakhta would have been one of the first princes of his race. It never gave birth to a bolder; and his wisdom was equal to his valour. Before the commission of that act, he was adored by his Rajputs. He was chiefly instrumental in the conquests made from Gujarat; and afterwards, in conjunction with his brother, in defeating the imperial viceroy, Sarbuland.¹ His elevation could not be called a usurpation, since Ram Singh was totally incapacitated, through his

¹ [Nawāb Mubārizu-l-mulk, Governor of Gujarāt under Muhammad Shāh, from which office he was removed because he consented to pay black-mail (*chauth*) to the Marāthas. He refused to give up his post, and fell into disgrace. He was afterwards Governor of Allāhābād, and died A.D. 1745 (Beale, *Dict. Oriental Biog.* s.v.; *BQ*, i. Part i. 304 ff.).]

ungovernable passions, for sovereign sway ; and the brave baror of Marwar, " all sons of the same father with their prince," have always exercised the right of election, when physical incapacity rendered such a measure requisite. It is a right which their own customary laws, as well as the rules of justice, have rendered sacred. According to this principle, nearly all the feudality of Maru willingly recognized, and swore to maintain, the claims of his successor, Bijai Singh. The Rajas of Bikaner and Kishan-garh, both independent branches of this house, gave in their assent. Bijai Singh was accordingly proclaimed and installed at Marot, and forthwith conducted to Merta.

The ex-prince, Ram Singh, accompanied Jai Apa to the siege of Kotah, and subsequently through Mewar, levying contributions as they passed to Ajmer. Here a dispute occurred between the brave Rathor and Sindhia, whose rapacious spirit for plunder received a severe reproof : nevertheless they crossed the frontier [753], and entered Marwar. Bijai Singh, with all the hereditary valour of his race, marched to meet the invaders, at the head of nearly all the chivalry of Maru, amounting to 200,000 men.

Battle of Merta, about A.D. 1756.—The first day both armies encountered, they limited their hostility to a severe cannonade and partial actions, the inhabitants of Merta supplying the combatants with food, in which service many were killed ; even the recluse Dadupantis ran the risk in this patriotic struggle, and several of the old patriarch's disciples suffered. The second day passed in the same manner, with many desperate charges of cavalry, in which the Mahrattas invariably suffered, especially from a select body of 5000 select horse, all cased in armour, which nothing could withstand. The superior numerical strength of Ram Singh and his allies compelled Bijai Singh not to neglect the means of retreat. Throughout the first and second days' combat, the cattle of the train had been kept yoked ; on the third, they had carried them to a small rivulet in the rear to water. It was at the precise moment of time when the legion of cuirassiers were returning from a charge which had broken to pieces the Mahratta line, as they approached their friends, the word '*daga*' spread like wildfire ; they were mistaken for Ram Singh's adherents, and a murderous shower of grape opened upon the flower of their own army, who were torn to pieces ere

the fatal error was discovered. But such was the impression which this band of heroes had just made on the Mahrattas, that they feared to take advantage of this disaster. A feeling of horror pervaded the army of Bijai Singh, as the choice of their chivalry conveyed the slain and the wounded to the camp. A council of war was summoned, and the aid of superstition came to cool that valour which the Mahrattas, in spite of their numbers, could never subdue. The Raja was young—only twenty years of age ; and being prudent as well as brave, he allowed experience to guide him. The Raja of Bikaner, of the same kin and clan, took the lead, and advised a retreat. In the accident related, he saw the hand of Providence, which had sent it to serve as a signal to desist. The Raja had a great stake to lose, and doubtless deemed it wise to preserve his auxiliaries for the defence of his own dominions. It was a case which required the energy of Bakhta : but the wavering opinion of the council soon spread throughout the camp, and was not unobserved by the enemy ; nor was it till Bikaner marched off with his aid, towards the close of the day, that any advantage was taken of it [754]. Then Ram Singh at the head of a body of Rajputs and Mahrattas poured down upon them, and ‘ *sauve qui peut* ’ became the order of the day. To gain Merta was the main object of the discomfited and panic-struck Rathors ; but many chiefs with their vassals marched direct for their estates. The guns were abandoned to their fate, and became the first proud trophy the Mahrattas gained over the dreaded Rajputs. The Raja of Kishangarh, also a Rathor, followed the example of his brother prince of Bikaner, and carried off his bands. Thus deserted by his dispirited and now dispersed barons, the young prince had no alternative but flight, and at midnight he took the route of Nagor. In the darkness he mistook the road, or was misled into that of Rain, whose chieftain was the companion of his flight. Calling him by name, Lal Singh, he desired him to regain the right path ; but the orders of a sovereign at the head of a victorious army, and those of a fugitive prince, are occasionally received, even amongst Rajputs, with some shades of distinction. The chief begged permission, as he was near home, to visit his family and bring them with him. Too dignified to reply, the young prince remained silent and the Thakur of Rain¹ loitered in the rear. The Raja

¹ Or *Rahin* in the map, on the road to Jahil from Merta.

reached Kajwana, with only five of his cuirassiers (*silahposh*) as an escort. Here he could not halt with safety ; but as he left the opposite barrier, his horse dropped down dead. He mounted another belonging to one of his attendants, and gained Deswal, three miles farther. Here the steeds, which had been labouring throughout the day under the weight of heavy armour, in addition to the usual burden of their riders, were too jaded to proceed ; and Nagor was still sixteen miles distant. Leaving his worn-out escort, and concealing his rank, he bargained with a Jat to convey him before break of day to the gate of Nagor for the sum of five rupees. The peasant, after stipulating that the coin should be *bijaishahis*,¹ 'the new currency,' which still remains the standard, the common car of husbandry was brought forth, on which the king of Maru ascended, and was drawn by a pair of Nagori oxen. The royal fugitive was but little satisfied with their exertions, though their pace was good, and kept continually urging them, with the customary cry of "*hank ! hank !*" The honest Jat, conscious that his cattle did their best, at length lost all temper. Repeating the sounds "*hank ! hank !*" "Who are you," asked he, "that are hurrying on at this rate ? It were more becoming [755] that such a sturdy carl should be in the field with Bijai Singh at Merta, than posting in this manner to Nagor. One would suppose you had the southrons (*dakkhinis*) at your heels. Therefore be quiet, for not a jot faster shall I drive." Morning broke, and Nagor was yet two miles distant : the Jat, turning round to view more attentively his impatient traveller, was overwhelmed with consternation when he recognized his prince. He leaped from the vehicle, horror-struck that he should have been sitting 'on the same level' with his sovereign, and absolutely refused to sin any longer against etiquette. "I pardon the occasion," said the prince mildly ; "obey." The Jat resumed his seat, nor ceased exclaiming *hank ! hank !* until he reached the gate of Nagor. Here the prince alighted, paid his price of conveyance, and dismissed the Jat of Deswal, with a promise of further recompense hereafter. On that day the enemy invested Nagor, but not before Bijai Singh had dispatched the chief of Harsor to defend the capital, and issued his proclamations to summon the ban of Marwar.

¹ [Coins made in the reign of Bijai Singh (A.D. 1753-93), (Webb, *Currencies of the Hindu States of Rājputāna*, 40).]

Resistance of Bijai Singh.—During six months he defended himself gallantly in Nagor, against which the desultory Mahrattas, little accustomed to the operations of a siege, made no impression, while they suffered from the sallies of their alert antagonist. Encouraged by their inactivity, the young prince, imbued with all the native valour of his race, and impelled by that decisive energy of mind which characterized his father, determined upon a step which has immortalized his memory. He resolved to cut his way through the enemy, and solicit succours in person. He had a dromedary corps five hundred strong. Placing on these a devoted band of one thousand Rajputs, in the dead of night he passed the Mahratta lines unobserved, and made direct for Bikaner. Twenty-four hours sufficed to seat him on the same *gaddi* with its prince, and to reveal to him the melancholy fact, that here he had no hopes of succour. Denied by a branch of his own house, he resorted to a daring experiment upon the supporter of his antagonist. The next morning he was on his way, at the head of his dromedary escort, to the capital of the Kachhwahas, Jaipur. The “ships of the desert” soon conveyed him to that city. He halted under the walls, and sent a messenger to say that in person he had come to solicit his assistance.

Isari Singh, the son and successor of the great Sawai Jai Singh, had neither the talents of his father, nor even the firmness which was the common inheritance [756] of his race. He dreaded the rival Rathor; and the pusillanimity which made him become the assassin of the father, prompted him to a breach of the sacred laws of hospitality (which, with courage, is a virtue almost inseparable from a Rajput soul), and make a captive of the son. But the base design was defeated by an instance of devotion and resolution, which will serve to relieve the Rajput character from the dark shades which the faithful historian is sometimes forced to throw into the picture. Civil war is the parent of every crime, and severs all ties, moral and political; nor must it be expected that Rajputana should furnish the exception to a rule, which applies to all mankind in similar circumstances. The civil wars of England and France, during the conflicts of the White and Red Roses, and those of the League, will disclose scenes which would suffice to dye with the deepest hues an entire dynasty of the Rajputs. Let such deeds as the following

be placed on the virtuous side of the account, and the crimes on the opposite side be ascribed to the peculiarities of their condition.

Devotion of the Mertias.—The devoted sacrifice of Sher Singh, the chief of the Mertia clan, has already been recorded. When victory declared against the side he espoused, the victorious Bakhta Singh resumed the estates of Rian from his line, and conferred them on a younger branch of the family. Jawan Singh was the name of the individual, and he was now with the chosen band of the son of his benefactor, soliciting succour from the king of the Kachhwahas. He had married the daughter of the chief of Achrol, one of the great vassals of Jaipur, who was deep in the confidence of his sovereign, to whom he imparted his design to seize the person of his guest and suppliant at the interview he had granted. Aware that such a scheme could not be effected without bloodshed, the Achrol chieftain, desirous to save his son-in-law from danger, under an oath of secrecy revealed the plot, in order that he might secure himself. The Jaipur prince came to the 'Travellers' hall' (*dharmsala*), where the Rathor had alighted; they embraced with cordiality, and seated themselves on the same *gaddi* together. While compliments were yet passing, the faithful Mertia, who, true to his pledge, had not even hinted to his master the danger that threatened him, placed himself immediately behind the Jaipur prince, sitting, as if accidentally, on the flowing skirt of his robe. The Raja, turning round to the leader of "the first of the swords of Maru," remarked "Why, Thakur, have you taken a seat in the background to-day?" "The day requires it, Maharaja" [757], was the laconic reply: for the post of the Mertias was the sovereign's right hand. Turning to his prince, he said, "Arise, depart, or your life or liberty is endangered." Bijai Singh arose, and his treacherous host made an attempt to follow, but felt his design impeded by the position the loyal chief had taken on his garment, whose drawn dagger was already pointed to his heart, where he threatened to sheathe it if any hindrance was offered to the safe departure of his sovereign, to whom he coolly said, as the prince left the astonished assembly, "Send me word when you are mounted." The brave Bijai Singh showed himself worthy of his servant, and soon sent to say, "He now only waited for him": a message, the import of which was not understood by the treacherous Kachhwaha. The leader

of the Mertias sheathed his dagger—arose—and coming in front of the Raja, made him a respectful obeisance. The Jaipur prince could not resist the impulse which such devotion was calculated to produce ; he arose, returned the salutation, and giving vent to his feelings, observed aloud to his chiefs, “ Behold a picture of fidelity ! It is in vain to hope for success against such men as these.”

Bijai Singh returns to Nāgor.—Foiled in all his endeavours, Bijai Singh had no resource but to regain Nagor, which he effected with the same celerity as he quitted it. Six months more passed away in the attempt to reduce Nagor ; but though the siege was fruitless, not so were the efforts of his rival Ram Singh in other quarters, to whom almost all the country had submitted : Marot, Parbatsar, Pali, Sojat had received his flag ; and besides the capital and the town he held in person, Jalor, Siwana, and Phalodi were the only places which had not been reduced. In this extremity, Bijai Singh listened to an offer to relieve him from these multiplied difficulties, which, in its consequences, alienated for ever the brightest gem in the crown of Marwar.

The Assassination of Jai Āpa Sindhia, A.D. 1759.—A Rajput and an Afghan, both foot-soldiers on a small monthly pay, offered, if their families were provided for, to sacrifice themselves for his safety by the assassination of the Mahratta commander. Assuming the garb of camp-settlers, they approached the headquarters, feigning a violent quarrel. The simple Mahratta chief was performing his ablutions at the door of his tent, and as they approached they became more vociferous, and throwing a bundle of statements of account on the ground, begged he would decide between them. In this manner they came nearer and nearer, and as he listened to their story, one plunged his dagger in his side, exclaiming, “ This for Nagor ! ” and “ This for Jodhpur ! ” said his companion [758], as he repeated the mortal blow. The alarm was given ; the Afghan was slain ; but the Rajput called out “ Thief ! ” and mingling with the throng, escaped by a drain into the town of Nagor.¹ Though the crime was rewarded, the

¹ [According to Grant Duff (*Hist. Mahrattas*, 310), Bijai Singh, following the infamous example of his father in regard to Pilaji Gāēkwār, engaged two persons who, on the promise of a rent-free estate (*jāgīr*), went to Jai Āpa as accredited envoys, and assassinated him. Hari Charan Dās (Elliot-Dowson viii. 210) says that the Rājput leader warned Jai Āpa to leave

Rathor refused to see the criminal. The siege continued, but in spite of every precaution, reinforcements both of men and provisions continued to be supplied. It ill suited the restless Mahratta to waste his time in these desert regions, which could be employed so much more profitably on richer lands: a compromise ensued, in which the cause of Ram Singh was abandoned, on stipulating for a fixed triennial tribute, and the surrender of the important fortress and district of Ajmer in full sovereignty to the Mahratta, in *mundkati*, or compensation for the blood of Jai Apa. The monsoon was then approaching; they broke up, and took possession of this important conquest, which, placed in the very heart of these regions, may be called the key of Rajputana.

The cross of St. George now waves over the battlements of Ajmer,¹ planted, if there is any truth in political declarations, not for the purpose of conquest, or to swell the revenues of British India, but to guard the liberties and the laws of these ancient principalities from rapine and disorder. It is to be hoped that this banner will never be otherwise employed, and that it may never be execrated by the brave Rajput.

The deserted Ram Singh continued to assert his rights with the same obstinacy by which he lost them; and for which he staked his life in no less than eighteen encounters against his uncle and cousin. At length, on the death of Isari Singh of Jaipur, having lost his main support, he accepted the Marwar share of the Salt Lake of Sambhar, and Jaipur relinquishing the other half, he resided there until his death [759].

Mārwar. Jai Āpa abused him, and the Rājput killed him by a blow with his dagger. Three of the Rājput party were killed, and three, in spite of their wounds, escaped.]

¹ [Surrendered to the British by Daulat Rāo Sindhia by treaty of June 25, 1818, and occupied by the Agent, Mr. Wilder, on July 28 of the same year.]

CHAPTER 29

Mahādaji Sindhia, A.D. 1759-94. Battle of Lālsot, A.D. 1787.—Mahadaji Sindhia succeeded to the command of the horde led by his relation, Jai Apa. He had the genius to discover that his southron horse would never compete with the Rajputs, and he set about improving that arm to which the Mahrattas finally owed success. This sagacious chief soon perceived that the political position of the great States of Rajasthan was most favourable to his views of establishing his power in this quarter. They were not only at variance with each other, but, as it has already appeared, were individually distracted with civil dissensions. The interference of the Rana of Udaipur had obtained for his nephew, Madho Singh, the *gaddi* of Jaipur; but this advantage was gained only through the introduction of the Mahrattas, and the establishment of a tribute, as in Marwar. This brave people felt the irksomeness of their chains, and wished to shake them off. Madho Singh's reign was short; he was succeeded by Partap, who determined to free himself from this badge of dependence.¹ Accordingly, when Mahadaji Sindhia invaded his country, at the head of a powerful army, he called on the Rathors for aid. The cause was their own; and they jointly determined to redeem what had been lost. As the bard of the Rathors observes, they [760] forgot all their just grounds of offence² against the Jaipur court, and sent the flower of their chivalry under the chieftain of Rian, whose fidelity has been so recently recorded. At Tonga (the battle is also termed that of Lalsot), the rival armies encountered. The celebrated Mogul chiefs, Ismail Beg and Hamdani, added their forces to those of the combined Rajputs, and gained an entire victory, in which

¹ [Mādhō Singh, A.D. 1760-78: Prithi Singh II. was succeeded within a year by Partāp Singh, 1778-1803.]

² *Pat rakhi Partāp ki
No kotī ka nāth.
Gunha agla bagasnē
Abē pakriyo hāth.*

“The lord of the nine castles preserved the honour of Partāp. He forgave former offences, and again took him by the hand.” [In the third line Major Luard's Pandit reads *bakhas di*, ‘forgave.’]

the Rathors had their full share of glory. The noble chief of Rian formed his Rathor horse into a dense mass, with which he charged and overwhelmed the flower of Sindhia's army, composed of the regulars under the celebrated De Boigne.¹ Sindhia was driven from the field, and retired to Mathura; for years he did not recover the severity of this day. The Rathors sent a force under the Dhaibhai, which redeemed Ajmer, and annulled their tributary engagement.

Battle of Pātan, June 20, 1790.—The genius of General Comte de Boigne ably seconded the energetic Sindhia. A regular force was equipped, far superior to any hitherto known, and was led into Rajputana to redeem the disgrace of Tonga. The warlike Rathors determined not to await the attack within their own limits, but marched their whole force to the northern frontier of Jaipur, and formed a junction with the Kachhwahas at the town of Patan (*Tuarvati*).² The words of the war-song, which the inspiring bards repeated as they advanced, are still current in Marwar; but an unlucky stanza, which a juvenile Charan had composed after the battle of Tonga, had completely alienated the Kachhwahas from their supporters, to whom they could not but acknowledge their inferiority:

Ūdhalti Amber né rākhi Rāthorān.

“The Rathors guarded the petticoats of Amber.”³

¹ “A la gauche la cavalerie rhatore, au nombre de dix mille hommes, fondit sur les bataillons de M. de Boigne malgré le feu des batteries placées en avant de la ligne. Les pièces bien servies opéraient avec succès; mais les Rhatores, avec le courage opiniâtre qui les caractérise, s'acharnaient à poursuivre l'action, et venaient tuer les artilleurs jusques sur leurs pièces. Alors, les bataillons s'avancèrent, et les Rhatores, qui avaient perdu beaucoup de monde, commencèrent à s'ébranler. M. de Boigne, les voyant se retirer en désordre, réclama l'aide du centre; mais les prières et les menaces furent également inutiles: les vingt-cinq bataillons mogols, restés inactifs pendant toute la journée, et simples spectateurs du combat, demeurèrent encore immobiles dans ce moment décisif. Les deux armées se retirèrent après cette action sanglante, qui n'eut aucun résultat.”

² [There is some doubt about the exact date. Grant Duff (*Hist. Mahrattas*, 497) fixes it on June 20, 1790. See Erskine's note (iii. A. 68), which is followed in the margin. For the battle see Compton, *Military Adventurers*, 51 ff.]

³ [The translation in the text seems to be wrong. The best authorities translate: “But for the Rāthors Amber would have run away.”]

This stanza was retained in recollection at the battle of Patan ; and if universal [761] affirmation may be received as proof, it was the cause of its loss, and with it that of Rajput independence. National pride was humbled : a private agreement was entered into between the Mahrattas and Jaipurians, whereby the latter, on condition of keeping aloof during the fight, were to have their country secured from devastation. As usual, the Rathors charged up to the muzzles of De Boigne's cannon, sweeping all before them : but receiving no support, they were torn piecemeal by showers of grape and compelled to abandon the field. Then, it is recorded, the brave Rathor showed the difference between fighting on *parbhum*, or 'foreign land,' and on his own native soil. Even the women, it is averred, plundered them of their horses on this disastrous day ; so heart-broken had the traitorous conduct of their allies rendered them. The Jaipurians paid dearly for their revenge, and for the couplet which recorded it :

*Ghoro, joro, pagri,
Mūcham Khag Mārwar,
Pānch rakam mel lidha
Pātan men Rāthor.*¹

Verbatim :

" Horse, shoes, turban,
Mustachio, sword [of] Marwar,
Five things surrendered were
At Patan by the Rathor."

Both these "ribald strains" are still the taunt of either race : by such base agencies are thrones overturned, and heroism rendered abortive !

When the fatal result of the battle of Patan was communicated to Raja Bijai Singh, he called a council of all his nobles, at which the independent branches of his family, the Rajas of Bikaner, Kishangarh, and Rupnagarh, assisted, for the cause was a common one. The Raja gave it as his own opinion, that it was better to

¹ [In this version the first and third lines do not scan. According to Dr. Tessitori, a better text runs :

*Ghoro, joro, pāgri,
Mūcham tāni maror,
Yān pānchām gun agli,
Rājputi Rāthor.]*

fulfil the terms of the former treaty, on the murder of Jai Apa, acknowledge the cancelled tribute, and restore Ajmer, which they had recovered by a *coup de main*. His valorous chieftains opposed the degrading suggestion, and unanimously recommended that they should again try the chances of war ere they signed their humiliation. Their resolution swayed the prince, who issued his summons to every Rathor in his dominions to assemble under their Raja's banner, once more planted on the ensanguined plains of Merta. A fine army was embodied ; not a Rathor who could wield a sword but brought it for service in the cause of his country ; and full thirty thousand men assembled on the 10th September 1790, determined to efface the recollections of Patan [762].

Battle of Merta, September 1790 A.D.—There was one miscreant of Rathor race, who aided on this occasion to rivet his country's chains, and his name shall be held up to execration—Bahadur Singh, the chief of Kishangarh. This traitor to his suzerain and race held, jointly with his brother of Rupnagarh, a domain of two hundred and ten townships : not a fief emanating from Marwar, but all by grant from the kings ; still they received the *tika*, and acknowledged the supremacy of the head of Jodhpur. The brothers had quarrelled ; Bahadur despoiled his brother of his share, and being deaf to all offers of mediation, Bijai Singh marched and re-inducted the oppressed chief into his capital, Rupnagarh. The fatal day of Patan occurred immediately after ; and Bahadur, burning with revenge, repaired to De Boigne, and conducted him against his native land. Rupnagarh, it may be supposed, was his first object, and it will afford a good proof of the efficiency of the artillery of De Boigne, that he reduced it in twenty-four hours. Thence he proceeded to Ajmer, which he invested : and here the proposal was made by the Raja for its surrender, and for the fulfilment of the former treaty. Mahadaji in person remained at Ajmer, while his army, led by Lakwa, Jiwa-dada, Sudasheo Bhao, and other Mahratta leaders of horse, with the brigades of De Boigne and eighty pieces of cannon, advanced against the Rathors. The Mahrattas, preceding by one day's march the regulars under De Boigne, encamped at Natria. The Rathor army was drawn out on the plains of Merta, one flank resting on the village of Dangiwas. Five miles separated the Rathors from the Mahrattas ; De Boigne was yet in the rear, his guns being deep sunk in the sandy bed of the Luni. Here a

golden opportunity was lost, which could never be regained, of deciding 'horse to horse' the claims of supremacy; but the evil genius of the Rathor again intervened: and as he was the victim at Patan to the jealousy of the Kachhwaha, so here he became the martyr to a meaner cause, the household jealousies of the civil ministers of his prince. It is customary in all the Rajput States, when the sovereign does not command in person, to send one of the civil ministers as his representative. Him the feudal chiefs will obey, but not one of their own body, at least without some hazard of dissension. Khub Chand Singwi, the first minister, was present with the Raja at the capital: Gangaram Bhandari and Bhimraj Singwi were with the army. Eager to efface the disgrace of Patan, the two great Rathor leaders, Sheo Singh of Awa, and Mahidas of Asop, who had sworn to free their country or die in the [763] attempt, demanded a general movement against the Mahrattas. This gallant impatience was seconded by all the other nobles, as well as by a successful attack on the foragers of the enemy, in which the Mahrattas lost all their cattle. But it was in vain they urged the raging ardour of their clans, the policy of taking advantage of it, and the absence of De Boigne, owing to whose admirable corps and well-appointed park the day at Patan was lost; Bhimraj silenced their clamour for the combat by producing a paper from the minister Khub Chand commanding them on their allegiance not to engage until the junction of Ismail Beg, already at Nagor. They fatally yielded obedience. De Boigne extricated his guns from the sands of Alniawas, and joined the main body. That night the Bikaner contingent, perceiving the state of things, and desirous to husband their resources to defend their own altars, withdrew. About an hour before day-break, De Boigne led his brigade to the attack, and completely surprised the unguarded Rajputs.¹ They were awoke by showers of grape-shot, which soon broke their position: all was confusion; the resistance was feeble. It was the camp of the irregular infantry and guns which broke, and endeavoured to gain Merta; and the civil commanders took to flight. The alarm reached the more distant quarters of the brothers-in-arms, the chiefs of Awa and Asop. The latter was famed for the immense quantity of opium he consumed; and with difficulty could his companion awake him, with the appalling tidings, "The camp has fled, and

¹ [See the graphic account in Keene, *Fall of the Mogul Empire*, 205 f.]

we are left alone ! ” “ Well, brother, let us to horse.” Soon the gallant band of both was ready, and twenty-two chiefs of note drank opium together for the last time. They were joined by the leaders of other clans ; and first and foremost the brave Mertias of Rian, of Alniawas, Irwa, Chanod, Govindgarh ; in all four thousand Rathors. When mounted and formed in one dense mass, the Awa chieftain shortly addressed them : “ Where can we fly, brothers ? But can there be a Rathor who has ties stronger than shame (*laḡ*) ? If any one exist who prefers his wife and children to honour, let him retire.” Deep silence was the only reply to this heroic appeal ; and as the hand of each warrior was raised to his forehead, the Awa chief gave the word “ Forward ! ” They soon came up with De Boigne’s brigade, well posted, and defended by eighty pieces of cannon. “ Remember Patan ! ” was the cry, as, regardless of showers of grape, this heroic band charged up to the cannon’s mouth, driving everything before them, cutting [764] down the line which defended the guns, and passing on to assault the Mahrattas, who were flying in all directions to avoid their impetuous valour. Had there been a reserve at this moment, the day of Merta would have surpassed that of Tonga. But here the skill of De Boigne, and the discipline of his troops, were an overmatch for valour unsustained by discipline and discretion. The Rathor band had no infantry to secure their victory ; the guns were wheeled round, the line was re-formed, and ready to receive them on their return. Fresh showers of shot and grape met their thinned ranks ; scarcely one of the four thousand left the field. The chiefs of Asop, Irwa, Chanod, Govindgarh, Alniawas, Morira, and others of lesser note, were among the slain ; and upon the heaps of wounded, surrounded by his gallant clan, lay the chief of Awa, pierced with seven-and-twenty wounds. He had lain insensible twenty-four hours, when an old servant, during the night, searched for and found him on the field. A heavy shower had fallen, which increased the miseries of the wounded. Blind and faint, the Thakur was dragged out from the bodies of the slain. A little opiate revived him ; and they were carrying him off, when they were encountered by Lakwa’s harkaras in search of chiefs of note ; the wounded Thakur was conveyed to the headquarters at Merta. Lakwa sent a surgeon to sew up his wounds ; but he disdained the courtesy, and refused all aid, until the meanest of his wounded

vassals was attended to. This brave man, when sufficiently recovered, refused all solicitation from his sympathizing foes that the usual rejoicing might be permitted, and that he would shave and perform the ablutions after sickness, till he could see his sovereign. The Raja advanced from his capital to meet him, and lavished encomiums on his conduct. He now took the bath, preparatory to putting on the honorary dress ; but in bathing his wounds opened afresh, and he expired.

Bhimraj Singwi received at Nagor, whither he had fled, a letter of accusation from his sovereign, on which he swallowed poison ; but although he was indirectly the cause of the defeat, by his supineness, and subsequent disgraceful flight, it was the minister at the capital whose treason prevented the destruction of the Mahrattas : Khub Chand was jealous of Bhimraj ; he dreaded being supplanted by him if he returned from Merta crowned with success ; and he therefore penned the dispatch which paralysed their energies, enjoining them to await the junction of Ismail Beg [765].

Thus, owing to a scurrilous couplet of a bard, and to the jealousy of a contemptible court-faction, did the valiant Rathors lose their independence—if it can be called lost—since each of these brave men still deems himself a host, when “ his hour should come ” to play the hero. Their spirit is not one jot diminished since the days of Tonga and Merta.¹

¹ Three years ago I passed two delightful days with the conqueror of the Rajputs, in his native vale of Chambéry. It was against the *croix blanche* of Savoy, not the *orange flag* of the Southron, that four thousand Rajputs fell martyrs to liberty ; and although I wish the Comte long life, I may regret he had lived to bring his talents and his courage to their subjugation. He did them ample justice, and when I talked of the field of Merta, the remembrance of past days flitted before him, as he said “ all appeared as a dream.” Distinguished by his prince, beloved by a numerous and amiable family, and honoured by his fellow-citizens, the years of the veteran, now numbering more than fourscore, glide in agreeable tranquillity in his native city, which, with oriental magnificence, he is beautifying by an entire new street and a handsome dwelling for himself. By a singular coincidence, just as I am writing this portion of my narrative I am put in possession of a *Mémoire* of his life, lately published, written under the eye of his son, the Comte Charles de Boigne. From this I extract his account of the battle of Merta. It is not to be supposed that he could then have been acquainted with the secret intrigues which were arrayed in favour of the “ white cross ” on this fatal day.

“ Les forces des Rajepoutes se composaient de trente mille cavaliers, de

British Policy towards the Rajputs.—By a careful investigation of the circumstances which placed those brave races in their present political position, the paramount protecting power may be enabled to appreciate them, either as allies or as foes ; and it will demonstrate more effectually than mere opinions, from whatever source, how admirably qualified they are, if divested of control, to harmonize, in a very important respect, with the British system of government in the East. We have nothing to dread from them, individually or collectively ; and we may engage their very hearts' blood in our cause against whatever foes may threaten us, foreign or domestic, if we only exert our interference when mediation will be of advantage to them, without offence to [766] their prejudices. Nor is there any difficulty in the task ; all honour the peacemaker, and they would court even arbitration if once assured that we had no ulterior views. But our strides have been rapid from Calcutta to Rajputana, and it

vingt mille hommes d'infanterie régulière, et de vingt-cinq pièces de canon. Les Marhattes avaient une cavalerie égale en nombre à celle de l'ennemi, mais leur infanterie se bornait aux bataillons de M. de Boigne, soutenus, il est vrai, par quatre-vingts pièces d'artillerie. Le général examina la position de l'ennemi, il étudia le terrain et arrêta son plan de bataille.

“ Le dix, avant le jour, la brigade reçut l'ordre de marcher en avant, et elle surprit les Rajepoutes pendant qu'ils faisoient leurs ablutions du matin. Les premiers bataillons, avec cinquante pièces de canon tirant à mitraille, enfoncèrent les lignes de l'ennemi et enlevèrent ses positions. Rohan, qui commandait l'aile droite, à la vue de ce premier avantage, sans avoir reçu aucun ordre, eut l'imprudence de s'avancer hors de la ligne du combat, à la tête de trois bataillons. La cavalerie Rathore profitant de cette faute, fondit à l'instant sur lui et faillit lui couper sa retraite sur le gros de l'armée, qu'il ne parvint à rejoindre qu'avec les plus grandes difficultés. Toute la cavalerie ennemie se mit alors en mouvement, et se jetant avec impétuosité sur la brigade, l'attaqua sur tous les côtés à la fois. Elle eût été infailliblement exterminée sans la présence d'esprit de son chef. M. de Boigne, s'étant aperçu de l'erreur commise par son aile droite et prévoyant les suites qu'elle pouvait entraîner, avait disposé sur-le-champ son infanterie en carré vido (hollow square) ; et par cette disposition, présentant partout un front à l'ennemi, elle opposa une résistance invincible aux charges furieuses des Rathores, qui furent enfin forcés de lâcher prise. Aussitôt l'infanterie reprit ses positions, et s'avancant avec son artillerie, elle fit une attaque générale sur toute la ligne des Rajepoutes. Déjà sur les neuf heures, l'ennemi était complètement battu ; une heure après, les Marhattes prirent possession de son camp avec tous ses canons et bagages ; et pour couronner cette journée, à trois heures après midi la ville de Mirtah fut prise d'assaut ” (*Mémoire sur la carrière militaire et politique de M. le Général Comte De Boigne, Chambéry, 1829*).

were well if they credit what the old Nestor of India (Zalim Singh of Kotah) would not, who, in reply to all my asseverations that we wished for no more territory, said, "I believe you think so; but the time will come when there will be but one *sikka*¹ throughout India. You stepped in, Maharaj, at a lucky time, the *phut*² was ripe and ready to be eaten, and you had only to take it bit by bit. It was not your power, so much as our disunion, which made you sovereigns, and will keep you so." His reasoning is not unworthy of attention, though I trust his prophecy may never be fulfilled.

Jharāu.—*November 28.*—Camp at Jharau, five coss (11 miles). On leaving Merta, we passed over the ground sacred to "the four thousand," whose heroic deeds, demonstrating at once the Rajput's love of freedom and his claim to it, we have just related. We this day altered our course from the N.N.E., which would have carried us, had we pursued it, to the Imperial city, for a direction to the southward of east, in order to cross our own Aravalli and gain Ajmer. The road was excellent, the soil very fair; but though there were symptoms of cultivation near the villages, the wastes were frightfully predominant; yet they are not void of vegetation: there is no want of herbage or stunted shrubs. The Aravalli towered majestically in the distant horizon, fading from our view towards the south-east. and intercepted by rising grounds.

The Mirage.—We had a magnificent mirage this morning: nor do I ever recollect observing this singularly grand phenomenon on a more extensive scale, or with greater variety of form. The morning was desperately cold; the thermometer, as I mounted my horse, a little after sunrise, stood at 32°, the freezing-point, with a sharp biting wind from the north-east. The ground was blanched with frost, and the water-skins, or *bikishtis mashaks*, were covered with ice at the mouth. The slender shrubs, especially the milky *ak*, were completely burnt up; and as the weather had been hitherto mild, the transition was severely felt, by things animate and inanimate [767].

¹ ['Scal,' 'coinage.']

² *Phūt* is a species of pumpkin, or melon, which bursts and flies into pieces when ripe. [*Cucumis mormodica*, Watt, *Comm. Prod.* 438 f.] It also means *disunion*; and Zalim Singh, who always spoke in parables, compared the States of India to this fruit.

It is only in the cold season that the mirage is visible ; the sojourners of Maru call it the *siya-kot*, or ' castles in the air.' ¹ In the deep desert to the westward, the herdsmen and travellers through these regions style it *chitram*, ' the picture ' ; while about the plains of the Chambal and Jumna they term it *disasul*, ' the omen of the quarter.' This optical deception has been noticed from the remotest times. The prophet Isaiah alludes to it when he says, " and the parched ground shall become a pool " ; ² which the critic has justly rendered, " and the *shārābh* ³ shall become real water." Quintus Curtius, describing the mirage in the Sogdian desert, says that " for the space of four hundred furlongs not a drop of water is to be found, and the sun's heat, being very vehement in summer, kindles such a fire in the sands, that everything is burnt up. There also arises such an exhalation, that the plains wear the appearance of a vast and deep sea " ; which is an exact description of the *chitram* of the Indian desert. But the *shārābh* and *chitram*, the true mirage of Isaiah, differ from that illusion called the *siya-kot* ; and though the traveller will hasten to it, in order to obtain a night's lodging, I do not think he would expect to slake his thirst there.

When we witnessed this phenomenon at first, the eye was attracted by a lofty opaque wall of lurid smoke, which seemed to be bounded by, or to rise from, the very verge of the horizon. By slow degrees the dense mass became more transparent, and assumed a reflecting or refracting power : shrubs were magnified into trees ; the dwarf *khair* appeared ten times larger than the gigantic *amlī* of the forest. A ray of light suddenly broke the

¹ Literally, ' the cold-weather castles.'

² Isaiah xxxv. 7.

³ *Sahra* is ' desert ' ; Arabic *sarāb*, Hebrew *shārābh*, ' the water of the desert,' a term which the inhabitants of the Arabian and Persian deserts apply to this optical phenomenon. The 18th verse, chap. xli. of Isaiah is closer to the critic's version : " I will make the wilderness (*sahra*) a pool of water." Doubtless the translators of Holy Writ, ignorant that this phenomenon was called *shārābh*, ' water of the waste,' deemed it a tautological error ; for translated literally, " and the water of the desert shall become real water," would be nonsense : they therefore lopped off the *āb*, water, and read *sahra* instead of *shārābh*, whereby the whole force and beauty of the prophecy is not merely diminished, but lost. [The Author is mistaken, the words *shārābh* and *sahra* having no connexion. See *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. 1077. The mirage in Sanskrit is called *mrigatrish*, ' deer's thirst.' Another name is *Gandharvapura*, ' city of the heavenly choristers.]

line of continuity of this yet smoky barrier ; and, as if touched by the enchanter's wand, castles, towers, and trees were seen in an aggregated cluster, partly obscured by magnificent foliage. Every accession of light produced a change in the *chitram*, which from the dense wall that it first exhibited had now faded into a thin transparent film, broken into a thousand masses, each mass being a huge lens ; until at length the [768] too vivid power of the sun dissolved the vision : castles, towers, and foliage melted, like the enchantment of Prospero, into " thin air."

I had long imagined that the nature of the soil had some effect in producing this illusory phenomenon ; especially as the *chitram* of the desert is seen chiefly on those extensive plains productive of the *sajji*, or alkaline plant, whence by incineration the natives produce soda,¹ and whose base is now known to be metallic. But I have since observed it on every kind of soil. That these lands, covered with saline incrustations, tend to increase the effect of the illusion, may be concluded.² But the difference between the *sarab* or *chitram*, and the *siya-kot* or *disasul* is, that the latter is never visible but in the cold season, when the gross vapours cannot rise ; and that the rarefaction, which gives existence to the other, destroys this, whenever the sun has attained 20° of elevation. A high wind is alike adverse to the phenomenon, and it will mostly be observed that it covets shelter, and its general appearance is a long line which is sure to be sustained by some height, such as a grove or village, as if it required support. The first time I observed it was in the Jaipur country ; none of the party had ever witnessed it in the British provinces. It appeared like an immense walled town with bastions, nor could we give credit to our guides, when they talked of the *siya-kot*, and assured us that the objects were merely " castles in the air." I have since seen, though but once, this panoramic scene in motion, and nothing can be imagined more beautiful.

It was at Kotah, just as the sun rose, whilst walking on the terraced roof of the garden-house, my residence. As I looked towards the low range which bounds the sight to the south-east, the hills appeared in motion, sweeping with an undulating or rotatory movement along the horizon. Trees and buildings were

¹ Properly a carbonate of soda [barilla, Watt, *Econ. Prod.* 112 f.],

² [Mirage is due to variations in the refractive index of the atmosphere, caused by sporadic variations of temperature (*EB*, 11th ed. xviii. 573).]

magnified, and all seemed a kind of enchantment. Some minutes elapsed before I could account for this wonder; until I determined that it must be the masses of a floating mirage, which had attained its most attenuated form, and being carried by a gentle current of air past the tops and sides of the hills, while it was itself imperceptible, made them appear in motion.

But although this was novel and pleasing, it wanted the splendour of the scene of this morning, which I never saw equalled but once. This occurred at Hissar, where I went to visit a beloved friend—gone, alas! to a better world [769],—whose ardent and honourable mind urged me to the task I have undertaken. It was on the terrace of James Lumsdaine's house, built amidst the ruins of the castle of Firoz, in the centre of one extended waste, where the lion was the sole inhabitant, that I saw the most perfect specimen of this phenomenon: it was really sublime. Let the reader fancy himself in the midst of a desert plain, with nothing to impede the wide scope of vision, his horizon bounded by a lofty black wall encompassing him on all sides. Let him watch the first sunbeam break upon this barrier, and at once, as by a touch of magic, shiver it into a thousand fantastic forms, leaving a splintered pinnacle in one place, a tower in another, an arch in a third; these in turn undergoing more than kaleidoscopic changes, until the "fairy fabric" vanishes. Here it was emphatically called Harchand Raja ki puri, or 'the city of Raja Harchand,' a celebrated prince of the brazen age of India.¹ The power of reflection shown by this phenomenon cannot be better described than by stating that it brought the very ancient Agroha,² which is thirteen miles distant, with its fort and bastions, close to my view.

The difference then between the mirage and the *siya-kot* is,

¹ [For the tale of the sufferings of the righteous Harischandra see J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, i. 88 ff.; Dowson, *Classical Dict. s.v.* For the mirage city compare "The City of Brass" (Burton, *Arabian Nights*, iii. 295).]

² This is in the ancient province of Hariana, and the cradle of the Agarwal race, now mercantile, and all followers of Hari or Vishnu. It might have been the capital of Aggrames, whose immense army threatened Alexander; with Agra it may divide the honour, or both may have been founded by this prince, who was also a Porus, being of Puru's race. [For Xandrames or Aggrames see Smith, *EHI*, 40; McCrindle, *Alexander*, 409. His capital is supposed to have been Pataliputra, the modern Patna.]

that the former exhibits a horizontal, the latter a columnar or vertical stratification ; and in the latter case, likewise, a contrast to the other, its maximum of translucency is the last stage of its existence. In this stage, it is only an eye accustomed to the phenomenon that can perceive it at all. I have passed over the plains of Meerut with a friend who had been thirty years in India, and he did not observe a *siya-kot* then before our eyes : in fact so complete was the illusion, that we only saw the town and fort considerably nearer. Monge gives a philosophical account of this phenomenon in Napoleon's campaign in Egypt ; and Dr. Clarke perfectly describes it in his journey to Rosetta, when " domes, turrets, and groves were seen reflected on the glowing surface of the plain, which appeared like a vast lake extending itself between the city and travellers." It is on reviewing this account that a critic has corrected the erroneous translation of the Septuagint ; and further dilated upon it in a review of Lichtenstein's travels in Southern Africa,¹ who exactly describes our *siya-kot*, of the magnifying and reflecting powers of which he gives a [770] singular instance. Indeed, whoever notices, while at sea, the atmospheric phenomena of these southern latitudes, will be struck by the deformity of objects as they pass through this medium : what the sailors term a fog-bank is the first stage of our *siya-kot*. I observed it on my voyage home ; but more especially in the passage out. About six o'clock on a dark evening, while we were dancing on the waste, I perceived a ship bearing down with full sail upon us so distinctly, that I gave the alarm, in expectation of a collision ; so far as I recollect, the helm was instantly up, and in a second no ship was to be seen. The laugh was against me—I had seen the " flying Dutchman,"² according to the opinion of the experienced officer on deck ; and I believed it was really a vision of the mind : but I now feel convinced it was either the reflection of our own ship in a passing cloud of this vapour, or a more distant object therein refracted. But enough of this subject : I will only add, whoever has a desire to see one of the grandest phenomena in nature, let him repair to the plains of Merta or Hissar, and watch before the sun rises

¹ See *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxi. pp. 66 and 138.

² This phenomenon is not uncommon ; and the superstitious sailor believes it to be the spectre of a Dutch pirate, doomed, as a warning and punishment, to migrate about these seas.

the fairy palace of Harchand, infinitely grander and more imposing than a sunrise upon the alpine Helvetia, which alone may compete with the *chitram* of the desert.

Cenotaph of a Thākur.—Jharau is a thriving village appertaining to a sub-vassal of the Mertia chief of Rian. There was a small sheet of water within a musket-shot to the left of the village, on whose margin, peeping through a few nims and the evergreen jhal,¹ was erected an elegant, though small *chhatri*, or cenotaph, of an ancestor of the possessor. The Thakur is sculptured on his charger, armed at all points ; and close beside him, with folded hands, upon the same stone, his faithful partner, who accompanied the warrior to Indra's abode. It bore the following epitaph : " On the 2d Margsir, S. 1689 (A.D. 1633), Maharaja Jaswant Singh attacked the enemy's (Aurangzeb's) army, in which battle Thakur Harankarna Das, of the Mertia clan, was slain. To him was erected this shrine, in the month of Margsir, S. 1697."

Water from wells is about thirty-five cubits from the surface ; the strata as follows : four cubits of mixed sand and black earth ; five of kankar, or calcareous concretions ; twenty of stiff clay and sand ; six of indurated clay, with particles of quartz and mica [771].

Alniawās.—November 29.—Alniawas, five coss. Half-way, passed the town of Rian, so often mentioned as the abode of the chief of the Mertia clan. It is large and populous, and surrounded by a well-constructed wall of the calcareous concrete already described, here called *morar*, and which resists the action of the monsoon. The works have a most judicious slope. The Thakur's name is Badan Singh, one of the eight great barons of Maru. The town still bears the name of *Sher Singh ka Rian*, who so gallantly defended to the death the rights of his young sovereign Ram Singh against his uncle. A beautiful landscape is seen from the high ground on which the town stands, in the direction of the mountains ; the intermediate space being filled with large villages, relieved by foliage, so unusual in these regions. Here I had a proof of the audacity of the mountaineers of the Aravalli, in an inscription on a cenotaph, which I copied : " On Monday the 3d Magh, S. 1835 (A.D. 1779), Thakur Bhopal Singh fell at the foot of his walls, defending them against the Mers, having first, with

¹ [*Jhāl*, *Salvadora persica*.]

his own hand, in order to save her honour, put his wife to death.”¹ Such were the Mers half a century ago, and they had been increasing in boldness ever since. There was scarcely a family on either side the range, whose estates lay at its foot, whose cenotaphs do not bear similar inscriptions, recording the desperate raids of these mountaineers; and it may be asserted that one of the greatest benefits we conferred on Rajputana was the conversion of this numerous banditti, occupying some hundred towns, into peaceful, tax-paying subjects. We can say, with the great Chauhan king, Bisiladeva, whose monument still stands in Firoz’s palace at Delhi, that we made them “carry water in the streets of Ajmer”; and, still more, deposit their arms on the Rana’s terrace at Udaipur. We have, moreover, metamorphosed a corps of them from breakers, into keepers, of the public peace.

Between Rian and Alniawas we crossed a stream, to which the name of the Luni² is also given, as well as to that we passed subsequently. It was here that De Boigne’s guns are said to have stuck fast.

The soundings of the wells at Rian and Alniawas presented the same results as [772] at Jharau, with the important exception that the substratum was steatite, which was so universal in the first part of my journey from Jodhpur.

Alniawas is also a fief of a Mertia vassal. It is a considerable town, populous, and apparently in easy circumstances. Here again I observed a trait of devotion, recorded on an altar “to the memory of Suni Mall,” who fell when his clan was exterminated in the charge against the rival Champawats, at Merta, in the civil wars.

Govindgarh.—November 30.—Govindgarh, distance three coss, or six miles. The roads generally good, though sometimes heavy; the soil of a lighter texture than yesterday. The castle and town of Govinda belong to a feudatory of the Jodha clan; its founder,

¹ A second inscription recorded a similar end of Sewa, the Baori, who fell in another inroad of the Mers, in S. 1831.

² I must deprecate criticism in respect to many of my geographical details. I find I have omitted this branch; but my health totally incapacitated me from reconstructing my map, which has been composed by the engraver from my disjointed materials. It is well known to all practical surveyors and geographers that none can do this properly but their author, who knows the precise value of each portion. [It is the main stream of the Luni river.]

Govind, was grandson to Udai *le gros* ; or, as Akbar dubbed him, the “Mota Raja,” from his great bulk. Of this clan is the chief of Khairwa, having sixteen townships in his fief: Banai, and Masuda, with its “fifty-two townships,” both now in Ajmer; having for their present suzerain the “Sarkar Company Bahadur”; though in lapses they will still go to Jodhpur, to be made “belted knights.” These places are beyond the range; but Pisangan, with its twelve villages; Bijathal, and other fiefs west of it, also in Ajmer, might at all events be restored to their ancient princes, which would be considered as a great boon. There would be local prepossessions to contend with, on the part of the British officers in charge of the district; but such objections must give way to views of general good.

Fox-hunting: Hyaenas.—This was another desperately cold morning; being unprovided with a great-coat, I turned the *dagla*, or ‘quilted brocade tunic,’ sent me by the high priest of Kanhaiya, to account. We had some capital runs this morning with the foxes of Maru, which are beautiful little animals, and larger than those of the provinces. I had a desperate chase after a hyaena on the banks of the Luni, and had fully the speed of him; but his topographical knowledge was too much for me, and he at length led me through a little forest of reeds or rushes, with which the banks of the river are covered for a great depth. Just as I was about giving him a spear, in spite of these obstacles, we came upon a blind nullah or ‘dry rivulet,’ concealed by the reeds; and Bajraj (the royal steed) was thrown out, with a wrench in the shoulder, in the attempt to clear it: the *jhirak* laughed at us.

We crossed a stream half a mile west of Govindgarh, called the Sagarmati [773], which, with another, the Sarasvati, joining it, issues from the Pushkar lake. The Sagarmati is also called the Luni; its bed is full of micaceous quartzose rock. The banks are low, and little above the level of the country. Though water is found at a depth of twelve cubits from the surface, the wells are all excavated to the depth of forty, as a precautionary measure against dry seasons. The stratification here was—one cubit sand; three of sand and soil mixed; fifteen to twenty of yellow clayish sand; four of morar, and fifteen of steatite and calcareous concretions, with loose sand, mixed with particles of quartz.

Pushkar Lake.—*December 1.*—Lake of Pushkar, four coss: the thermometer stood at the freezing-point this morning:—heavy sands the whole way. Crossed the Sarasvati near Nand; its banks were covered with bulrushes, at least ten feet in height—many vehicles were lading with them for the interior, to be used for the purposes of thatching—elephants make a feast among them. We again crossed the Sarasvati, at the entrance of the valley of Pushkar, which comes from Old (*burha*) Pushkar, four miles east of the present lake, which was excavated by the last of the Pariharas of Mandor. The sand drifted from the plains by the currents of air has formed a complete bar at the mouth of the valley, which is about one mile in breadth; occasionally the *tibas*, or sand-hills, are of considerable elevation. The summits of the mountains to the left were sparkling with a deep rose-coloured quartz, amidst which, on the peak of Nand, arose a shrine to ‘the Mother.’ The hills preserve the same character: bold pinnacles, abrupt sides, and surface thinly covered. The stratification inclines to the west; the dip of the strata is about twenty degrees. There is, however, a considerable difference in the colour of the mountains: those on the left have a rose tint; those on the right are of greyish granite, with masses of white quartz about their summits.

Pushkar is the most sacred lake in India; that of Mansarovar in Tibet may alone compete with it in this respect. It is placed in the centre of the valley, which here becomes wider, and affords abundant space for the numerous shrines and cenotaphs with which the hopes and fears of the virtuous and the wicked amongst the magnates of India have studded its margin. It is surrounded by sand-hills of considerable magnitude, excepting on the east, where a swamp extends to the very base of the mountains. The form of the lake may be called an irregular ellipse. Around its margin, except towards the marshy outlet, is a display of [774] varied architecture. Every Hindu family of rank has its niche here, for the purposes of devotional pursuits when they could abstract themselves from mundane affairs. The most conspicuous are those erected by Raja Man of Jaipur, Ahalya Bai, the Holkar queen, Jawahir Mall of Bharatpur, and Bijai Singh of Marwar. The cenotaphs are also numerous. The ashes of Jai Apa, who was assassinated at Nagor, are superbly covered; as are those of his brother Santaji, who was killed during the siege of that place.

The Brahma Temple.—By far the most conspicuous edifice is the shrine of the creator Brahma, erected, about four years ago¹ by a private individual, if we may so designate Gokul Parik, the minister of Sindhia ; it cost the sum of 130,000 rupees (about £15,000), though all the materials were at hand, and labour could be had for almost nothing. This is the sole tabernacle dedicated to the ONE GOD which I ever saw or have heard of in India.² The statue is quadrifrons ; and what struck me as not a little curious was that the *sikhar*, or pinnacle of the temple, is surmounted by a cross. Tradition was here again at work. Before creation began, Brahma assembled all the celestials on this very spot, and performed the *Yajna* ; around the hallowed spot walls were raised, and sentinels placed to guard it from the intrusion of the evil spirits. In testimony of the fact, the natives point out the four isolated mountains, placed towards the cardinal points, beyond the lake, on which, they assert, rested the *kanāṭh*, or cloth-walls of inclosure. That to the south is called Ratnagir or ‘the hill of gems,’ on the summit of which is the shrine of Savitri. That to the north is Nilagir, or ‘the blue mountain.’ East, and guarding the valley, is the Kuchhaturgir ; and to the west, Sonachaura, or ‘the golden.’ Nandi, the bull-steed of Mahadeva, was placed at the mouth of the valley, to keep away the spirits of the desert ; while Kanhaiya himself performed this office to the north. The sacred fire was kindled : but Savitri, the wife of Brahma, was nowhere to be found, and as without a female the rites could not proceed, a young Gujarî took the place of Savitri ; who, on her return, was so enraged at the indignity, that she retired to the mountain of gems, where she disappeared. On this spot a fountain gushed up, still called by her name ; close to which is her shrine, not the least attractive in the precincts of Pushkar. During these rites, Mahadeva, or, as he is called, Bholanath, represented always in a state of stupefaction from the use of intoxicating [775] herbs, omitted to put out the sacred fire, which spread, and was likely to involve the world in combustion ; when Brahma extinguished it with the sand, and hence the *tîbas* of the valley. Such is the origin of the sanctity of

¹ [At least three other temples of Brahma are known : at Khed Brahma in Mahikāntha (*BG*, v. 437 f.) ; Cebrolu and Māla in S. India (Oppert, *Original Inhabitants of Bharatavarsha*, 288 ff.). The Author mentions] one at Chitor (Vol. I. p. 322).]

Pushkar. In after ages, one of the sovereigns of Mandor, in the urgency of the chase, was led to the spot, and washing his hands at the fountain, was cured of some disorder. That he might know the place again, he tore his turban into shreds, and suspended the fragments to the trees, to serve him as guides to the spot—where he made the excavation. The Brahmans pretend to have a copper-plate grant from the Parihara prince of the lands about Pushkar; but I was able to obtain only a Persian translation of it, which I was heretical enough to disbelieve. I had many manuscripts brought me, written by various princes and chiefs, making provision for the prayers of these recluses at their shrines.

The name of Bisaladeva, the famed Chauhan king of Ajmer, is the most conspicuous here; and they still point out the residence of his great ancestor, Ajaipal, on the Nagpahar, or ‘serpent-rock,’ directly south of the lake, where the remains of the fortress of Pali or Shepherd-king are yet visible. Ajaipal was, as his name implies, a goatherd, whose piety, in supplying one of the saints of Pushkar with daily libations of goats’ milk, procured him a territory. Satisfied, however, with the scene of his early days, he commenced his castle on the serpent-mount; but his evil genius knocking down in the night what he erected in the day, he sought out another site on the opposite side of the range: hence arose the far-famed Ajamer.¹ Manika Rae is the most conspicuous connecting link of the Chauhan Pali kings, from the goatherd founder to the famed Bisaladeva.² Manika was slain in the first century of the Hijra, when “the arms of Walid conquered to the Ganges”; and Bisaladeva headed a confederacy

¹ [“The name probably suggested the myth [that he was a goatherd, Ajapāla = ‘goatherd’], and it is more reasonable to suppose that the appellation was given to him when, at the close of his life, he became a hermit, and ended his days at the gorge in the hills about ten miles from Ajmer, which is still venerated as the shrine of Ajai-pāl. It has been shown, however, by more recent research that Aja or Ajāya flourished about A.D. 1000, and that the foundation of Ajmer must be attributed to this period” (Watson, *Gazetteer*, i. A. 9).]

² Classically, Visaladeva. [Cunningham remarks that the date of Manik Rāe is fixed by a memorial verse in Sambat 741 or 747, but of what era is uncertain. Tod adopts the Vikrama era, and fixes his date twenty years before the invasion of Muhammad bin Kāsim, A.D. 712. He seems to have died in the beginning of the ninth century (*ASR*, ii. 253). Visaladeva lived in the middle of the twelfth century (Smith, *EHI*, 386). Tej Singh is mentioned in inscriptions A.D. 1260–67 (*Erskine* ii. B. 10).]

of the Hindu kings, and chased the descendants of M... from Hindustan, the origin of the recording column at Delhi Bisaladeva, it appears from inscriptions, was the contemporary of Rawal Tejsi, the monarch of Chitor, and grandfather the Ulysses of Rajasthan, the brave Samarsi, who fell with 13,000 of his kindred in aid of the last Chauhan Prithiraj, who, according to the genealogies of this race, is the fourth in descent from Bisaladeva. If this is not sufficient proof of the era of this king, be it known that Udayaditya, the prince of the Pramaras (the period of [776] whose death, or A.D. 1096, has now become a datum),¹ is enumerated amongst the sovereigns who serve under the banners of the Chauhan of Ajmer.

Bhartrihari.—The 'serpent-rock' is also famed as being one of the places where the wandering Bhartrihari, prince of Ujjain, lived for years in penitential devotion; and the slab which served as a seat to this royal saint has become one of the objects of veneration. If all the places assigned to this brother of Vikrama were really visited by him, he must have been one of the greatest tourists of antiquity, and must have lived to an antediluvian old age. Witness his castle at Sehwan, on the Indus; his cave at Alwar; his *thans* at Abu, and at Benares. We must, in fact, give credit to the couplet of the bards, "the world is the Pramara's." There are many beautiful spots about the serpent-mount, which, as it abounds in springs, has from the earliest times been the resort of the Hindu sages, whose caves and hermitages are yet pointed out, now embellished with gardens and fountains. One of the latter issuing from a fissure in the rock is sacred to the Muni Agastya, who performed the very credible exploit of drinking up the ocean.

St. George's banner waved on a sand-hill in front of the cross on Brahma's temple, from which my camp was separated by the lake; but though there was no defect of legendary lore to amuse us, we longed to quit "the region of death," and hie back to our own lakes, our cutter, and our gardens.

Ajmer.—*December 2.*—Ajmer, three coss. Proceeded up the valley, where lofty barriers on either side, covered with the milky thorn (*cactus*),² and the "yellow anwla of the border," showed they

¹ See *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. i. p. 223.

² [*Euphorbia neriifolia*.]

were but the prolongation of our own Aravalli. Granite appeared of every hue, but of a stratification so irregular as to bid defiance to the geologist. The higher we ascended the valley, the loftier became the sand-hills, which appeared to aspire to the altitude of their granitic neighbours. A small rill poured down the valley ; there came also a cold blast from the north, which made our fingers tingle. Suddenly we changed our direction from north to east, and ascending the mountain, surveyed through a gap in the range the far-famed Daru-l-Khair. The view which thus suddenly burst upon us was magnificent. A noble plain, with trees, and the expansive lake of Bisaladeva, lay at our feet, while 'the fortress of the goatherd' crowned the crest of a majestic isolated hill. The point of descent affords a fine field for the mineralogist ; on [777] each side, high over the pass, rise peaks of reddish granite, which are discovered half-way down the descent to be reposing on a blue micaceous slate, whose inclination is westward, at an angle of about 25° with the horizon. The formation is the same to the southward, but the slate there is more compact, and freer from mica and quartz. I picked up a fragment of black marble ; its crystals were large and brilliant.

Passed through the city of Ajmer, which, though long a regal abode, does not display that magnificence we might have expected, and, like all other towns of India, exhibits poverty and ease in juxtaposition. It was gratifying to find that the finest part was rising, under the auspices of the British Government and the superintendent of the province, Mr. Wilder. The main street, when finished, will well answer the purpose intended—a place of traffic for the sons of commerce of Rajasthan, who, in a body, did me the honour of a visit : they were contented and happy at the protection they enjoyed in their commercial pursuits. With the prosperity of Bhilwara, that of Ajmer is materially connected ; and having no interests which can clash, each town views the welfare of the other as its own : a sentiment which we do not fail to encourage

Breakfasted with Mr. Wilder,¹ and consulted how we could best promote our favourite objects—the prosperity of Ajmer and Bhilwara [778].

¹ [Mr. Wilder was in charge of Ajmer, 1818–24.]

CHAPTER 30

Ajmer.—Ajmer has been too long the haunt of Moguls and Pathans, the Goths and Vandals of Rajasthan, to afford much scope to the researches of the antiquary. Whatever time has spared of the hallowed relics of old, bigotry has destroyed; raised to herself altars of materials, whose sculptured fragments serve now as disjointed memorials of two distinct and distant eras: that of the independent Hindu, and that of the conqueror Muhammadan, whose idgahs and mosques, mausoleums and country-seats, constructed from the wrecks of aboriginal art, are fast mouldering to decay. The associations they call for afford the only motive to wish their preservation; except one—"relic of nobler days and noblest arts," which, though impressed with this double character, every spectator must desire to retain from the sweeping sentence—the edifice before the reader, a vision which excited these reflections. Let us rather bless than execrate the hand, though it be that of a Turk, which has spared, for whatever motive, one of the most perfect, as well as the most ancient, monuments of Hindu architecture. It is built on the western declivity of the fortress, and called Arhai din ka jhonp or, 'the shed of two and a half days,' from its having occupied (as tradition tells) its magical builders only this short period. The skill of the Pali or Takshak architect, the three sacred monuments of these countries abundantly attest: nor had he occasion for any mysterious arts, besides those of masonry, to accomplish them. In discussing the cosmogony of the Hindus, we have had occasion to convert their years into days; here we must reverse the method, and understand (as in [779] interpreting the sacred prophecies of Scripture) their days as meaning years. Had it, indeed, been of more humble pretensions, we might have supposed the monotheistic Jain had borrowed from the Athenian legislator Cecrops, who ordained that no tomb should consist of more work than ten men could finish in three days; to which Demetrius, the Phalerian, sanctioned the addition of a little vessel to contain the ghost's victuals.¹

¹ See Archbishop Potter's *Archaeologia*, vol. i. p. 192. [Cicero, *De Legibus*, ii. 25, 26; Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, ed. 1869, xii. 184.]

Arhāi din ka jhonpra Mosque.—The temple is surrounded by a superb screen of Saracenic architecture, having the main front and gateway to the north. From its simplicity, as well as its appearance of antiquity, I am inclined to assign the screen to the first dynasty, the Ghorian sultans, who evidently made use of native architects. The entrance arch is of that wavy kind, characteristic of what is termed the Saracenic, whether the term is applied to the Alhambra of Spain, or the mosques of Delhi; I am disposed, on close examination, to pronounce it Hindu.¹ The entire façade of this noble entrance, which I regret I cannot see engraved, is covered with Arabic inscriptions. But, unless my eyes much deceived me, the small frieze over the apex of the arch contained an inscription in Sanskrit,² with which Arabic has been commingled, both being unintelligible. The remains of a minaret still maintain their position on the right flank of the arch with a door and steps leading to it for the muazzin to call the faithful to prayers. A line of smaller arches of similar form adorns the front of the screen. The design is chaste and beautiful, and the material, which is a compact limestone of a low colour, admitting almost of as high a polish as the *jaune de la Loire*, gave abundant scope to the sculptor. After confessing and admiring the taste of the Vandal architect, we passed under the arch to examine the more noble production of the Hindu. Its plan is simple, and consonant with all the more ancient temples of the Jains. It is an extensive saloon, the ceiling supported by a quadruple range of columns, those of the centre being surmounted by a range of vaulted coverings; while the lateral portion, which is flat, is divided into compartments of the most elaborate sculpture. But the columns are most worthy of attention; they are unique in design, and with the exception of the cave-temples, probably amongst the oldest now existing in India. On examining them, ideas entirely novel, even in Hindu [780]

¹ [Fergusson (*Hist. Indian Arch.* ii. 210 f.) says it was begun in A.D. 1200, and completed during the reign of Iyaltimish (1211–36). The temple may have been originally Jain, but it had been altered by Hindus.]

² [Cunningham searched in vain for the Sanskrit inscription. "I am inclined to believe that Tod may have mistaken some of the square Cufic writing for ancient Sanskrit. It is, indeed, possible that the square Cufic inscription which records the building of the mosque in A.H. 596 (A.D. 1200) may once have occupied the position described by Tod over the apex of the central arch" (*ASR*, ii. 262 f.).]

art, are developed. Like all these portions of Hindu architecture, their ornaments are very complex, and the observer will not fail to be struck with their dissimilarity; it was evidently a rule in the art to make the ornaments of every part unlike the other, and which I have seen carried to great extent. There may be forty columns but no two are alike. The ornaments of the base are peculiar, both as to form and execution; the lozenges, with the rich tracery surmounting them, might be transferred, inappropriately, to the Gothic cathedrals of Europe. The projections from various parts of the shaft (which on a small scale may be compared to the corresponding projections of the columns in the Duomo at Milan), with the small niches still containing the statues, though occasionally mutilated, of the Pontiffs of the Jains, give them a character which strengthens the comparison, and which would be yet more apparent if we could afford to enter into the details.¹ The elegant Kamakumbha, the emblem of the Hindu Ceres, with its pendent palmyra-branches, is here lost, as are many emblematical ornaments, curious in design and elegant in their execution. Here and there occurs a richly carved corbeille, which still further sustains the analogy between the two systems of architecture; and the capitals are at once strong and delicate. The central vault, which is the largest, is constructed after the same fashion as that described at Nadol; but the concentric annulets, which in that are plain, in this are one blaze of ornaments, which with the whole of the ceiling is too elaborate and complicated for description. Under the most retired of the compartments, and nearly about the centre, is raised the mimbar, or pulpit, whence the Mulla enunciates the dogma of Muhammad, "there is but one God": and for which he dispossessed the Jain, whose creed was like his own, the unity of the Godhead. But this is in unison with the feeling which dictated the external metamorphosis. The whole is of the same materials as already described, from the quarries of the Aravalli close at hand, which are rich in every mineral as well as metallic production:—

I ask'd of *Time* for whom *those* temples rose,
That prostrate by his hand in silence lie;

¹ ["It is certain that they are not Jain pillars, as I found many four-armed figures sculptured on them, besides a single figure of the skeleton goddess, Kālī" (*ibid.* 259).]

His lips disdain'd the myst'ry to disclose,
 And borne on swifter wing, he hurried by !
 The broken columns *whose* ? I ask'd of *Fame* :
 (Her kindling breath gives life to works sublime ;)
 With downcast looks of mingled grief and shame,
 She heaved the uncertain sigh, and follow'd *Time* [781].
 Wrapt in amazement o'er the mouldering pile,
 I saw *Oblivion* pass with giant stride ;
 And while his visage wore *Pride's* scornful smile,
 Haply *thou know'st*, then tell me, *whose* I cried,
Whose these vast domes that ev'n in ruin shine ?
 I *reck not whose*, he said : they *now are mine*.

Shall we abandon them to cold 'oblivion' ; or restore them to a name already mentioned, Samprati, or Swampriti, the Shah Jahan¹ of a period two centuries before the Christian era, and to whom the shrine in Kumbhalmer is ascribed ? Of one thing there is no doubt, which is, that both are Jain, and of the most ancient models : and thus advertised, the antiquary will be able to discriminate between the architectural systems of the Saivas and the Jains, which are as distinct as their religions.

Having alluded to the analogy between the details in the columns and those in our Gothic buildings (as they are called), and surmised that the Saracenic arch is of Hindu origin ; I may further, with this temple and screen before us, speculate on the possibility of its having furnished some hints to the architects of Europe. It is well known that the Saracenic arch has crept into many of those structures called Gothic, erected in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when a more florid style succeeded to the severity of the Saxon or Romans ; but I believe it has been doubted whence the Saracens obtained their model ; certainly it was neither from Egypt nor Persia. The early caliphs of Baghdad, who were as enlightened as they were powerful, kept alive the light of science when Europe was in darkness ; and the most accomplished noble who accompanied our Cœur de Lion, though "brave as his sword," was a clown compared to the infidel Saladin, in mind as well as manners. The influence of these polished foes on European society it would be superfluous to descant upon. The lieutenants of these caliphs, who pene-

¹ Both epithets imply 'Lord of the Universe,' [?] and of which the name of Prithiraj, that of the last Chauhan emperor, is another version.

trated from the Delta of the Indus to the Ganges from four to five centuries prior to this event, when Walid's arms triumphed simultaneously on the Indus and the Ebro, produced no trifling results to the arts. This very spot, Ajmer, according to traditional couplets and the poetic legends of its ancient princes, the Chauhans, was visited by the first hostile force which Islam sent across the Indus, and to which Manika Rae fell a sacrifice. What ideas might not this Jain temple have afforded to [782] "the Light of Ali," for Roshan Ali is the name preserved of him who "in ships landing at Anjar," marched through the very heart of India, and took Garh Bitli, the citadel of Ajmer, by assault. The period is one of total darkness in the history of India, save for the scattered and flickering rays which emanate from the chronicles of the Chauhans and Guhilots. But let us leave the temple, and slightly describe the castle of Manika Rae, on whose battlements an infidel's arrow of Roshan's army reached the heir of the Chauhan; since which Lot, for such was his name, has been adopted amongst the lares and penates of this celebrated race. This was the first Rajput blood which the arms of conversion shed, and the impression must have been strong to be thus handed down to posterity.

The mind, after all, retires dissatisfied: with me it might be from association. Even the gateway, however elegant, is unsuitable to the genius of the place. Separately considered, they are each magnificent; together, it is as if a modern sculptor were (like our actors of the last age) to adorn the head of Cato with a peruke. I left this precious relic, with a malediction upon all the spoilers of art—whether the Thane who pillaged Minerva's portico at Athens, or the Turk who dilapidated the Jain temple at Ajmer.¹

Ajmer Fort.—The reader will see as much of this far-famed fortress as I did: for there was nothing to induce me to climb the steep, where the only temple visible was a modern-looking whitewashed mosque, lifting its dazzling minarets over the dingy antique towers of the Chauhan: "he who seven times captured the sultan, and seven times released him." The hill rises majestically from its base to the height of about eight hundred feet; its crest encircled by the ancient wall and towers raised by Ajaipal—

¹ Chance obtained me the drawing of this temple; I wish it had also given me the name of its author to grace the page.

There was a day when they were young and proud,
 Banners on high, and battles passed below ;
 But they who fought are in a bloody shroud,
 And those which waved are shredless dust ere now,
 And the bleak battlements shall bear no future blow ;¹

unless the Cossack should follow the track of Roshan Ali or Mahmud, and try to tear the British flag from the *kunguras* of Ajmer. On the north side a party of the superintendent's were unlocking the latent treasures in the bowels of the mountain. The vein is of lead ; a sulphuret, or galena [788].²

The Bisal Tālāb.—I have already mentioned the lake, called after the excavator, the Bisal Talab. It is about eight miles in circumference, and besides the beauty it adds to the vale of Ajmer, it has a source of interest in being the fountain of the Luni, which pursues its silent course until it unites with the eastern arm of the Delta of the Indus : the point of outlet is at the northern angle of the Daulat Bagh, 'the gardens of wealth,' built by Jahangir for his residence when he undertook to conquer the Rajputs. The water is not unwholesome, and there are three outlets at this fountainhead for the escape of the water fitting its periodical altitudes. The stream at its parent source is thence called the Sagarmati. It takes a sweep northward by Bhaonta and Pisangan, and close to where we crossed it, at Govindgarh, it is joined by the Sarasvati from Pushkar ; when the united waters (at whose *sangam*, or confluence, there is a small temple to the manes) are called the Luni.

The gardens erected on the embankment of the lake must have been a pleasant abode for "the king of the world," while his lieutenants were carrying on the war against the Rana : but the imperial residence of marble, in which he received the submissions of that prince, through his grandson, and the first ambassador sent by England to the Mogul, are now going fast to decay. The walks on which his majesty last paraded, in the state-coach sent by our James the First, are now overgrown with shrubs.

The stratification of the rock, at the point³ of outlet, would

¹ *Childe Harold*, Canto iii. [47].

² [The Tāragarh hill is rich in lead, and iron and copper mines have been worked, but did not pay expenses. The lead is purer than European pig lead, but lack of fuel and cheap transport have driven it from the market. (Watson i. A. 60 f.)]

interest the geologist, especially an extensive vein of mica, adjoining another of almost transparent quartz.

Anasāgar Lake.—Eastward of this lake about a mile is another named the Anasagar, after the grandson of Bisaldeo, who has left the reputation of great liberality, and a contrast with Visala. The vestiges of an island are yet seen in the lake, and upon its margin ; but the materials have been carried away by the Goths. There are two small buildings on the adjacent heights, called “ the annulets of Khwaja Kutb,” and some other saint.

Such are the wonders in the environs of Daru-l-Khair, “ celebrated in the history of the Moguls, as well as of the Hindus.” But my search for inscriptions to corroborate the legends of the Chauhans proved fruitless. I was, however, fortunate enough to add to my numismatic treasures some of the currency of these ancient kings, which give interest to a series of the same description, all appertaining [784] to the Buddhists or Jains. The inscription occupying one side is in a most antique character, the knowledge of which is still a desideratum : the reverse bears the effigies of a horse, the object of worship to the Indo-Scythic Rajput.¹ It is not improbable that the Agnikula Chauhan may have brought these letters with him from higher Asia. Researches in these countries for such monuments may yet discover how far this conjecture is correct. At Pushkar I also found some very ancient coins. Had the antiquary travelled these regions prior to the reign of Aurangzeb he would have had a noble field to explore : many coins were destroyed by this bigot, but many were buried underground, which time or accident may disclose. He was the great foe of Rajput fame ; and well might the bard, in the words of the Cambrian minstrel, bid

Ruin seize thee, ruthless king.

They did repay his cruelties by the destruction of his race. In one short century from this tyrant, who grasped each shore of the peninsula, the Mogul power was extinct ; while the oppressed Rajputs are again on the ascendant. But the illiterate and mercenary Afghan, “ the descendant of the lost tribes of Israel,”² if we credit their traditions, may share the iniquity with Aurangzeb :

¹ [Probably the “ Bull and Horseman ” type, see p. 809, above. The inscription is in Hindi characters.]

² They claim Ishmael as their common ancestor.

for they fulfilled literally a duty which their supposed forefathers pertinaciously refused, and made war against every graven image. Had they even spared us a few of the monsters, the joint conceptions of the poet and the sculptor, I might have presented some specimens of griffins (*gras*)¹ and demons almost of a classical taste : but the love of mischief was too strong even to let these escape : the shoe was applied to the prominent features of everything which represented animation.

By a medium of several meridian observations, I made the latitude of Ajmer 26° 19' north ; its longitude, by time and measurement from my fixed meridian, Udaipur, 74° 40', nearly the position assigned to it by the father of Indian geography, the justly celebrated Rennell.²

Return March to Udaipur.—*December 5.*—At daybreak we left the towers of Manika Rae, enveloped in mist, and turned our horses' heads to the southward, on our return to Udaipur. While at Ajmer, I received accounts of the death of the prince of Kotah, and did intend to proceed direct to that capital, by Shahpura and Bundi ; but my presence was desired by the Rana to repair the dilapidations which only two months' absence had [785] occasioned in the political fabric which I had helped to reconstruct. Other interesting objects intervened : one, a visit to the new castle of Bhingarh, erecting in Merwara to overawe the Mers ; the other to compose the feuds which raged between the sectarian merchants of the new mart, Bhilwara, and which threatened to destroy all my labour. We made two marches to Bhinai, in which there was nothing to record. Bhinai is the residence of a Rathor chieftain, whose position is rather peculiar. Being placed within the district of Ajmer, and paying an annual quit-rent to the British, he may consider the Company as his sovereign ; but although this position precludes all political subordination to the chief of the race, the tie would be felt and acknowledged, on a lapse, in the anxiety for the usual *tika* of recognition to his successor, from the Raja of Marwar. I argue on knowledge of character and customs ; though it is possible this individual case might be against me.

¹ [The *grāsda* or *sārdūla*, a figure of a horned lion or panther (Fergusson-Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, 439).]

² [He was nearly right—Ajmer, 26° 27' N. lat., 74° 37' E. long. ; Udaipur, 24° 35' N. lat., 73° 42' E. long.]

The castle of Bhinai is a picturesque object in these level plains ; it is covered with the cactus, or prickly pear, so abundant on the east side of the Aravalli. This was anciently the residence of a branch of the Parihara princes of Mandor, when held as a fief of the Chauhans of Ajmer ; and from it originated a numerous mixed class, called the Parihara Minas, a mixture of Rajput and aboriginal blood.

Deolia.—*December 6.*—Deolia, near the northern bank of the Khari, the present boundary of Ajmer and Mewar. From Ajmer to Deolia the direction of the road is S.S.E., and the distance forty miles. This important district in the political geography of Rajputana, which, with the posts of Nimach and Mhow, is the connecting link between the British dominions on the Jumna and in the Deccan, was obtained by cession from Sindhia in 1818. A glance at the map is sufficient to show its importance in our existing connexion with Rajputana. The greatest breadth of the district is between the Aravalli west and the Banas east and measures about eight miles. The greatest length is between the city of Ajmer and Jhak, a post in Merwara, measuring about forty miles. The narrowest portion is that where we now are at Deolia, whence the Kishangarh frontier can be seen over a strip of land of about twelve miles in extent. Within these bounds a great portion of the land is held by feudal chieftains paying quit-rent, which I believe is fixed. I had to settle a frontier dispute at Deolia, regarding the right of cultivating in the bed of the Khari, which produces very good melons. The soil of Ajmer cannot [786] be called rich, and is better adapted for the lighter than the richer grains. Marks of war and rapine were visible throughout.

Dābla.—*December 7.*—This town was a sub-fee of Banera ; but the vassal, a Rathor, had learned habits of insubordination during Mahratta influence, which he could not or would not throw aside. In these he was further encouraged by his connexion by marriage with the old ruler of Kotah, who had exemplified his hostility to the Dābla vassal's liege lord by besieging his castle of Banera. Having so long disobeyed him, his Rajput blood refused to change with the times ; and though he condescended, at the head of his twenty retainers, to perform homage on stated days, and take his allotted position in the Banera darbar, he refused to pay the quit-rent, to which numerous deeds proved

his suzerain had a right. Months passed away in ineffectual remonstrances; it was even proposed that he should hold the inferior dependencies free of quit-rent, but pay those of Dabla. All being in vain, the demand was increased to the complete surrender of Dabla; which elicited a truly Rajput reply: "His head and Dabla were together." This obstinacy could not be warded off; and he was told that though one would suffice, if both were withheld both might be required. Like a brave Rathor, Dabla defended it for months against a large Mahratta force, and hence Dabla was vauntingly called "the little Bharatpur." Too late he saw his error, but there was no receding; and though he at length offered a nazarana, through the mediation of the Kotah wakil, of 20,000 rupees, to obtain the Rana's investiture, it was refused and a surrender was insisted on. Being an important frontier-post, it was retained by the Rana, and compensation was made to Banera. Every interest was made for him through the Nestor of Kotah, but in vain; his obstinacy offered an example too pernicious to admit of the least retrocession, and Dabla was forthwith incorporated with the appanage of the heir-apparent, Jawan Singh.

Almost the whole of this, the Badnor division, of 360 townships, is occupied by Rathors, the descendants of those who accompanied Jaimall to Mewar: the proportion of feudal to fiscal land therein is as three to one. It is a rich and fertile tract, and it is to be hoped will maintain in ease and independence the brave men who inhabit it, and who have a long time been the sport of rapine.

I received a visit from the chief vassal of the Badnor chief, then at the capital; and as I found it impossible to visit Merwara, I subsequently deputed Captain [787] Waugh who was hospitably received and entertained at Badnor. He hunted, and played the Holi with the old baron, who shows at all times the frankness of his race: but it being the period of the Saturnalia, he was especially unreserved; though he was the greatest stickler for etiquette amongst my many friends, and was always expatiating on the necessity of attending to the gradations of rank.

Banera.—*December 8.*—The castle of Banera is one of the most imposing feudal edifices of Mewar, and its lord one of the greatest of its chieftains. He not only bears the title of Raja, but has all the state-insignia attached thereto. His name happens to

be the same as that of his sovereign—his being Raja Bhim, the prince's Rana Bhim,—to whom he is nearly related, and but for blind chance might have been lord of all the Sesodias. It may be recollected that the chivalrous antagonist of Aurangzeb, the heroic Rana Raj, had two sons, twins, if we may so term sons simultaneously born, though by different mothers. The incident which decided the preference of Jai Singh to Bhim has been related;¹ the circumstance of the latter's abandoning his country to court fortune under the Imperial standard—his leading his Rajput contingent amongst the mountains of Kandahar—and his death by dislocation of the spine, through urging his horse at speed amongst the boughs of a tree. The present incumbent of Banera is the descendant of that Raja Bhim, who was succeeded in the honours of his family by his son Suraj, killed whilst heading his contingent at the storm of Bijapur. The infant son of Suraj had four districts assigned to him, all taken from his suzerain, the Rana. In such esteem did the emperor hold the family, that the son of Suraj was baptized Sultan. He was succeeded by Sardar Singh, who, on the breaking up of the empire, came under the allegiance of his rightful sovereign the Rana. Rae Singh and Hamir Singh complete the chain to my friend Raja Bhim, who did me the honour to advance two miles from Banera to welcome and conduct me to his castle. Here I had a good opportunity of observing the feudal state and manners of these chiefs within their own domains during a visit of three hours at Banera. I was, moreover, much attached to Raja Bhim, who was a perfectly well-bred and courteous gentleman, and who was quite unreserved with me. From his propinquity to the reigning family, and from his honours and insignia being the gift of the king's, he had been an object of jealousy to the court, which tended much to retard the restoration [788] of his authority over his sub-vassals of Banera; the chief of Dabla is one instance of this. I found little difficulty in banishing the discord between him and his sovereign, who chiefly complained of the Banera kettle-drums beating, not only as he entered the city, but as far as the Porte—the sacred Tripolia; and the use of Chamar² in his presence. It was arranged that these emblems of honour, emanating from the great foes of Mewar, should never be obtruded

¹ See Vol. I. p. 456.

² [The yak tail, one of the insignia of royalty.]

on the eye or ear of the Rana; though within his own domain the Banera chieftain might do as he pleased. This was just; and Raja Bhim had too much good sense not to conciliate his "brother and cousin," Rana Bhim, by such a concession, which otherwise might have been insisted upon. The estate of Banera is in value 80,000 rupees of annual rent, one-half of which is in subinfeudations, his vassals being chiefly Rathors. The only service performed by Raja Bhim is the contributing a quota for the commercial mart of Bhilwara, with the usual marks of subordination, personal duty and homage to the Rana. His estate is much impoverished from its lying in the very track of the freebooters; but the soil is excellent, and time will bring hands to cultivate it, if we exercise a long and patient indulgence.

The 'velvet cushion' was spread in a balcony projecting from the main hall of Banera; here the Raja's vassals were mustered, and he placed me by his side on the *gaddi*. There was not a point of his rural or domestic economy upon which he did not descant, and ask my advice, as his "adopted brother." I was also made umpire between him and my old friend the baron of Badnor, regarding a marriage settlement, the granddaughter of the latter being married to the heir of Banera. I had, besides, to wade through old grants and deeds to settle the claims between the Raja and several of his sub-vassals; a long course of disorder having separated them so much from each other as to obliterate their respective rights. All these arbitrations were made without reference to my official situation, but were forced upon me merely by the claims of friendship; but it was a matter of exultation to be enabled to make use of my influence for the adjustment of such disputes, and for restoring individual as well as general prosperity. My friend prepared his gifts at parting; I went through the forms of receiving, but waived accepting them: which may be done without any offence to delicacy. I have been highly gratified to read the kind reception he gave to the respected Bishop Heber, in his tour through Mewar. I wonder, however, that this discerning and elegant-minded man did not [789] notice the peculiar circumstance of the Raja's teeth being fixed in with gold wire, which produces rather an unpleasant articulation.¹

¹ [Bishop Heber writes: "He was an elderly man, and had lost many teeth, which made it very difficult for me to understand him" (*Narrative of a Journey*, ed. 1861, ii. 55).]

Banera adjoins the estates of the Rathors, and is no great distance from those of the Sangawats and Jagawats, which lie at the base of the Aravalli. All require a long period of toleration and unmolested tranquillity to emerge from their impoverished condition. My friend accompanied me to my tents, when I presented to him a pair of pistols, and a telescope with which he might view his neighbours on the mountains: we parted with mutual satisfaction, and I believe, mutual regret.

Bhilwāra.—*December 9.*—I encamped about half-a-mile from our good town of Bhilwara, which was making rapid strides to prosperity, notwithstanding drawbacks from sectarian feuds; with which, however, I was so dissatisfied, that I refused every request to visit the town until such causes of retardation were removed. I received a deputation from both parties at my tents, and read them a lecture for their benefit, in which I lamented the privation of the pleasure of witnessing their unalloyed prosperity. Although I reconciled them to each other, I would not confide in their promises until months of improvement should elapse. They abided by their promise, and I fulfilled mine when the death of the Bundi prince afforded an opportunity, *en route* to that capital, to visit them. My reception was far too flattering to describe, even if this were the proper place. The sentiments they entertained for me had suffered no diminution when Bishop Heber visited the town. But his informant (one of the merchants), when he said it ought to have been called *Tod-ganj*, meant that it was so intended, and actually received this appellation: but it was changed, at my request, and on pain of withdrawing my entire support from it. The Rana, who used to call it himself in conversation “*Tod Sahib ki basti*,” would have been gratified; but it would have been wrong to avail myself of his partiality. In all I was enabled to do, from my friendship, not from my official character, I always feared the dangers to his independence from such precedent for interference.¹

Māndalgarh.—*December 10.*—I deviated from the direct course *homewards* (to Udaipur) to visit this beautiful spot, formerly the head of a flourishing district; but all was dilapidated. The first revenue derived from Mandal was expended on the repairs of the dam of its lake, which irrigates a great extent of rice-land. The Goths had felled [790] most of the fine trees which had ornamented

¹ See Vol. I. p. 562.

its dam and margin ; and several garden-houses, as well as that on the island in the lake, were in ruins. Not many years ago a column of victory, said to have been raised by Bisaladeva of Ajmer, in consequence of a victory over the Guhilots, graced this little isle. Mandal is now rising from its ruins, and one of the exiles was so fortunate as to find a vessel containing several pieces of gold and ornaments, in excavating the ruins of his ancient abode, though not buried by him. It involved the question of manorial rights, of which the Rana waived the enforcement, though he asserted them. To-day I passed between Pansal and Arja, the former still held by a Saktawat, the latter now united to the fisc. I have already related the feud between the Saktawats and the Purawats in the struggle for Arja, which is one of the most compact castles in Mewar, with a domain of 52,000 bighas, or 12,000 acres, attached to it, rendering it well worth a contest ; but the Saktawat had no right there, say the Purawats ; and in fact it is in the very heart of their lands.

✓*Pur.*—*December 11.*—This is one of the oldest towns of Mewar, and if we credit tradition, anterior in date to Vikrama. We crossed the Kotasari to and from Mandal, passing by the tin and copper mines of Dariba, and the Purawat estate of Pitawas. Pur means, *par eminence*, ‘the city,’ and anciently the title was admissible ; even now it is one of the chief fiscal towns. It is in the very heart of the canton, inhabited by the Babas, or ‘infants’ of Mewar, embracing a circle of about twenty-five miles diameter. The broken chain of mountains, having Banera on the northern point and Gurla to the south, passes transversely through this domain, leaving the estate of Bagor, the residence of Sheodan Singh, west, and extending to the S.E. to Mangrop, across the Berach. The policy which dictated the establishment of an isolated portion of the blood-royal of Mewar in the very centre of the country was wise ; for the Babas rarely or ever mix with the politics of the feudatory chieftains, home or foreign. They are accordingly entrusted with the command of all garrisons, and head the feudal quotas as the representative of their sovereign. They have a particular seat at court, the Baba ka Ol being distinct from the chieftains’, and in front. Though they inhabit the lands about Pur, it is not from these they derive their name, but as descendants from Puru, one of the twenty-five sons of Rana Udai Singh, that blot in the scutcheon of Mewar [791].

Garnets.—About a mile east of Pur there is an isolated hill of blue slate, in which I found garnets embedded. I have no doubt persevering adventurers would be rewarded ; but though I tried them with the hammer, I obtained none of any value. They are also to be obtained on the southern frontier of Kishangarh and Ajmer, about Sarwar. I received the visits of the ‘infants’ of Gurla and Gadarmala, both most respectable men, and enjoying good estates, with strong castles, which I passed the next day.

Rāsmi, on the Banās River.—*December 12.*—We had a long march through the most fertile lands of Mewar, all belonging to the Rana’s personal domain. The progress towards prosperity is great ; of which Rasmi, the head of a tappa or subdivision of a district, affords evidence, as well as every village. On our way we were continually met by peasants with songs of joy, and our entrance into each village was one of triumph. The Patels and other rustic officers, surrounded by the ryots, came out of the villages ; while the females collected in groups, with brass vessels filled with water gracefully resting on their heads, stood at the entrance, their scarfs half covering their faces, chaunting the *sub-la* ; a very ancient custom of the Hindu cultivator on receiving the superior, and tantamount to an acknowledgment of supremacy. Whether vanity was flattered, or whether a better sentiment was awakened, on receiving such tokens of gratitude, it is not for me to determine : the sight was pleasing, and the custom was general while I travelled in Mewar. The females bearing the *kalas* on their heads, were everywhere met with. These were chiefly the wives and daughters of the cultivators, though not unfrequently those of the Rajput sub-vassals. The former were seldom very fair, though they had generally fine eyes and good persons. We met many fragments of antiquity at Rasmi. Captain Waugh and the doctor were gratified with angling in the Banas for trout ; but as the fish would not rise to the fly, I set the net, and obtained several dozens : the largest measured seventeen inches, and weighed seventy rupees, or nearly two pounds.

Merta.—*December 16.*—After an absence of two months we terminated our circuitous journey, and encamped on the ground whence we started, all rejoiced at the prospect of again entering “the happy valley.” We made four marches across the *dual* watered by the Berach and Banas rivers ; the land naturally rich

and formerly boasting some large towns, but as yet only disclosing the germs of [792] prosperity. There is not a more fertile tract in India than this, which would alone defray the expenses of the court if its resources were properly husbanded. But years must first roll on, and the peasant must meet with encouragement, and a reduction of taxation to the lowest rate; and the lord-paramount must alike be indulgent in the exaction of his tribute. Our camels were the greatest sufferers in the march through the desert, and one-half were rendered useless. I received a deputation conveying the Rana's congratulation on my return 'home,' with a letter full of friendship and importunities to see me; but the register of the heavens—an oracle consulted by the Rajput as faithfully as Moore's Almanack by the British yeoman—showed an unlucky aspect, and I must needs halt at Merta, or in the valley, until the signs were more favourable to a re-entry into Udaipur. Here we amused ourselves in chalking out the site of our projected residence on the heights of Tus, and in fishing at the source of the Berach. Of this scene I present the reader with a view; and if he allows his imagination to ascend the dam which confines the waters of the lake, he may view the Udaisagar, with its islets; and directing his eye across its expanse, he may gain a bird's-eye view of the palace of the Kaiser of the Sesodias. The dam thrown across a gorge of the mountains is of enormous magnitude and strength, as is necessary, indeed, to shut in a volume of water twelve miles in circumference. At its base, the point of outlet, is a small hunting-seat of the Rana's, going to decay for want of funds to repair it, like all those on the Tiger Mount and in the valley. Nor is there any hope that the revenues, burthened as they are with the payment of a clear fourth in tribute, can supply the means of preventing further dilapidation.

December 19.—Tired of two days' idleness, we passed through the portals of Debari on our way to Ar, to which place the Rana signified his intention of advancing in person, to receive and conduct me 'home': an honour as unlooked-for and unolicited as it was gratifying. Udaipur presents a most imposing appearance when approached from the east. The palace of the Rana, and that of the heir-apparent, the great temple, and the houses of the nobles, with their turrets and cupolas rising in airy elegance, afford a pleasing contrast with the heavy wall and

pierced battlements of the city beneath. This wall is more extensive than solid. To remedy this want of strength, a chain of fortresses has [798] been constructed, about gunshot from it, commanding every road leading thereto, which adds greatly to the effect of the landscape. These castellated heights contain places of recreation, one of which belongs to Salumbar; but all wear the same aspect of decay.

Ahār.—Ar, or Ahar,¹ near which we encamped, is sacred to the manes of the princes of Udaipur, and contains the cenotaphs of all her kings since the valley became their residence: but as they do not disdain association, either in life or death, with their vassals, Ar presents the appearance of a thickly crowded cemetery, in which the mausoleums of the Ranas stand pre-eminent in “the place of great faith.”² The renowned Amra Singh’s is the most conspicuous; but the cenotaphs of all the princes, down to the father of Rana Bhim, are very elegant, and exactly what such structures ought to be; namely, vaulted roofs, supported by handsome columns raised on lofty terraces, the architraves of enormous single blocks, all of white marble, from the quarries of Kankroli. There are some smaller tombs of a singularly elaborate character, and of an antiquity which decides the claims of Ar to be considered as the remains of a very ancient city. The ground is strewn with the wrecks of monuments and old temples, which have been used in erecting the sepulchres of the Ranas. The great city was the residence of their ancestors, and is said to have been founded by Asaditya upon the site of the still more ancient capital of Tambavatinagari, where dwelt the Tuar ancestors of Vikramaditya, before he obtained Avinti, or Ujjain. From Tambavatinagari its name was changed to Anandpur, ‘the happy city,’ and at length to Ahar, which gave the patronymic to the Guhilot race, namely, Aharya. The vestiges of immense mounds still remain to the eastward, called the Dhul-kot, or ‘fort,’ destroyed by ‘ashes’ (*dhul*) of a volcanic eruption. Whether the lakes of the valley owe their origin to the same cause which is said to have destroyed the ancient Ahar, a more skilful geologist must determine. The chief road from the city is cut through this mound; and as I had observed fragments of sculpture and pottery on the excavated sides, I commenced a regular opening of the mound in search of medals, and obtained a few with the

¹ [See p. 924.]

² [The Mahāsati.]

effigies of an animal, which I fancied to be a lion, but others the *gadha*, or ass, attributed to Gandharvasen, the brother of Vikrama, who placed this impress on his coins, the reason of which is given in a long legend.¹ My impious intentions were soon checked by some designing knaves about the Rana, and I would not offend [794] superstition. But the most superficial observer will pronounce Ar to have been an ancient and extensive city, the walls which enclose this sepulchral abode being evidently built with the sculptured fragments of temples. Some shrines, chiefly Jain, are still standing, though in the last stage of dilapidation, and they have been erected from the ruins of shrines still older, as appears from the motley decorations, where statues and images are inserted with their heads reversed, and Mahavira and Mahadeva come into actual contact : all are in white marble. Two inscriptions were obtained ; one very long and complete, in the nail-headed character of the Jains ; but their interpretation is yet a desideratum. A topographical map of this curious valley would prove interesting, and for this I have sufficient materials. The Teli-ki-Sarai would not be omitted in such a map, as adding another to the many instances I have met with, among this industrious class, to benefit their fellow-citizens. The ' Oilman's Caravanserai ' is not conspicuous for magnitude ; but it is remarkable, not merely for its utility, but even for its elegance of design. It is equi-distant from each of the lakes. The Teli-ka-Pul, or ' Oilman's Bridge,' at Nurabad, is, however, a magnificent memorial of the trade, and deserves preservation ; and as I shall not be able now to describe the region (Gwalior) where it stands, across the Asan, I will substitute it for the Sarai, of which I have no memorial.² These Telis (oilmen) perambulate the country

¹ [These rude Indo-Sassanian coins, also known as Tātariya dirhams, are popularly called Gadhiya paisa, or "ass copper money," because the worn-down representation of a fire temple was believed to be the head of an ass (Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, 313 ; Elliot-Dowson i. 3, note ; BG, i. Part i. 469, note). Gandharvasen, as a punishment for offending Indra, was condemned to assume the form of an ass during the day : he consorted with a princess, and their offspring was Vikramāditya (*Asiatic Researches*, vi. 35 f. ; W. Ward, *The Hindoos*, 2nd ed. i. 22).]

² [Nūrābād is on the old road from Agra to Gwalior, 63 miles S. of the former, and 15 miles N. of the latter. "There is a fair sketch of the bridge in Tod's 'Rajasthan,' which, however, scarcely does justice to it, as it is deficient in those architectural details which form the most pleasing part of the structure" (*ASR*, ii. 397).]

with skins of oil on a bullock, and from hard-earned pence the structures which bear their name. India owes much to individual munificence.

The planets were adverse to my happy conjunction with the Sun of the Hindus : and it was determined that I should not appear another day amongst the tombs of Ahar ; but I invoked my own devoted head all the evil consequences, as in this was the only person who was threatened. To render this question to the decree less noxious, it was agreed that I should enter my *entrée* by the southern, not by the eastern porte, that day. The Rana came, attended by his son, his chiefs, his ministers, and, in fact, all the capital in his train. The most hearty welcomes were lavished upon us all. "*Rama ! Rama ! Tod Sahib !*" (the Hindu greeting) resounded from a thousand throats, while I addressed each chief by name. It was a meeting of formality, but of well-cemented friendship. My companions, Captain Waugh and Dr. Duncan, were busy in exchanging smiles and cordial greetings, when the Rana, requesting our presence at the palace next day [795], bade us adieu. We took the direct road to his palace, while we, to avoid evil spirits, made a detour by the southern portal, to gain our residence, the garden of Rampiyari.

APPENDIX

*Translations of Inscriptions, chiefly in the Nail-headed character of the Takshak Races and Jains, fixing eras in Rajput history.*¹

No. I

Memorial of a Gete or Jit prince of the fifth century, discovered 1820, in a temple at Kunswa, near the Chumbul river, south of Kotah.

May the Jit'ha be thy protector ! What does this Jit'ha resemble ? which is the vessel of conveyance across the waters

¹ [The Inscriptions quoted in this appendix have been reprinted as they stand in the original text : partly, because it would have been necessary

fe, which is partly white, partly red? Again, what does it
 pable, where the hissing-angered serpents dwell? What may
 Jit'ha be compared to, from whose root the roaring flood
 ds? Such is the Jit'h; by it may thou be preserved (1).
 fame of RAJA JIT I now shall tell, by whose valour the
 of SALPOORA (2) are preserved. The fortunes of Raja Jit
 flames of fire devouring his foe. The mighty warrior JIT
 LINDRA (2) is beautiful in person, and from the strength of his
 m esteemed the first amongst the tribes of the mighty; make
 ndent, as does the moon the earth, the dominions of SAL-
 The whole world praises the JIT prince, who enlarges the
 m of his race, sitting in the midst of haughty warriors, like
 otos in the waters, the moon of the sons of men. The fore-
 heads of the princes of the earth worship the toe of his foot.
 Beams of light irradiate his countenance, issuing from the gems
 his arms of strength. Radiant is his array; his riches abun-
 ; his mind generous and profound as the ocean. Such is he
 RYA (3) race, a tribe renowned amongst the tribes of the
 y, whose princes were ever foes to treachery, to whom the
 surrendered her fruits, and who added the lands of their
 es to their own. By sacrifice, the mind of this lord of men has
 n purified; fair are his territories, and fair is the Fortress
 TAK'HYA (4). The string of whose bow is dreaded, whose
 ath is the reaper of the field of combat; but to his dependents
 e is as the pearl on the neck; who makes no account of the
 battle, though streams of blood run through the field. As does
 the silver lotos bend its head before the fierce rays of the sun, so
 does his foe stoop to him, while the cowards abandon the field [796].

From this lord of men (*Narpati*) SÁLINDRA sprung DEVANGLI,
 whose deeds are known even at *this remote period*.

From him was born SUMBOOKA, and from him DEGALI, who
 married two wives of YADU race (5), and by one a son named
 VIRA NARINDRA, pure as a flower from the fountain.

Amidst groves of *amba*, on whose clustering blossoms hang
 myriads of bees, that the wearied traveller might repose, was this
 edifice erected. May it, and the fame of its founder, continue
 while ocean rolls, or while the moon, the sun, and hills endure.
 Samvat 597.—On the extremity of MALWA, this minster (MINDRA)
 was erected, on the banks of the river TAVELI, by SALICHANDRA (6),
 son of VIRACHANDRA.

Whoever will commit this writing to memory, his sins will be
 obliterated. Carved by the sculptor SEVANARYA, son of DWARA-
 SIVA, and composed by BUTENA, chief of the bards.

to discard the Author's versions, and to replace them by the translations of
 recent scholars; partly, as an example of the Author's methods of transla-
 tion and annotation. With the help of Mr. Vincent A. Smith and Pandit
 Gaurishankar Ojha of the Rājputāna Museum, Ajmer, references have
 been added to modern translations of the Inscriptions.]

(Note 1).—In the prologue to this valuable relic, which superficially viewed would appear a string of puerilities, we have conveyed in mystic allegory the mythological origin of the Jit or Gete race. From the members of the chief of the gods ISWARA or Mahadeva, *the god of battle*, many races claim birth: the warrior from his arms; the Charun from his spine; the prophetic Bhat (*Vates*) from his tongue; and the Gete or Jit derive theirs from his tiara, which, formed of his own hair, is called *Jit'ha*. In this tiara, serpents, emblematic of TIME (*kal*) and DESTRUCTION, are wreathed; also implicative that the *Jits*, who are of *Takshac*, or the serpent race, are thereby protected. The "roaring flood" which descends from this *Jit'ha* is the river goddess Ganga, daughter of Mena, wife of Iswara. The mixed colour of his hair, which is partly white, partly of reddish (*panduranga*) hue, arises from his character of ARD'UNARI, or Hermaphroditus. All these characteristics of the god of war must have been brought by the Scythic Gete from the Jaxartes, where they worshipped him as the Sun (*Balnath*) and as XAMOLSCIS (*Yama*, vulg. *Jama*) the infernal divinity.

The 12th chapter of the Edda, in describing BALDER the second son of Odin, particularly dwells on the beauty of his hair, whence "the whitest of all vegetables is called the eyebrow of Balder, on the columns of whose temples there are verses engraved, capable of recalling the dead to life."

How perfectly in unison is all this of the Jits of Jutland and the Jits of Rajast'han. In each case the hair is the chief object of admiration; of Balnath as Balder, and the magical effect of the Runes is not more powerful than that attached by the chief of the Scalds of our Gete prince at the end of this inscription, fresh evidences in support of my hypothesis, that many of the Rajpoot races and Scandinavians have a common origin—that origin, Central Asia.

(Note 2).—Salpoora is the name of the capital of this Jit prince, and his epithet of Sal-indra is merely titular, as the Indra, or lord of Sal-poori, 'the city of Sal,' which the fortunate discovery of an inscription raised by Komarpal, king of Anhulwarra (*Nehrwalla* of D'Anville), dated S. 1207, has enabled me to place "at the base of the Sewaluk Mountains." In order to elucidate this point, and to give the full value to this record of the Jit princes of the Punjab, I append (No. V.) a translation of the Nehrwalla conqueror's inscription, which will prove beyond a doubt that these JIT princes of SALPOORI in the Punjab were the leaders of that very colony of the Yuti from the Jaxartes, who in the fifth century, as recorded by De Guignes, crossed the Indus and possessed themselves of the Punjab; and strange to say, have again risen to power, for the Sikhs (*disciples*) of Nanuk are almost all of Jit origin.

(Note 3).—Here this Jit is called of SARYA SAC'HA, *branch* or *ramification* of the *Saryas*: a very ancient race which is noticed by the genealogists synonymously with the SARIASPA, one of

the thirty-six royal races, and very probably the same as the SARWYA of the Koinarpal Charitra, with the distinguished epithet "the flower of the martial races" (*Sarwya c'shatrya tyn Sar*).

(Note 4).—"The fortress of Takshac." Whether this TAKSHACNAGARI, or castle of the Tâk, is the [797] stronghold of SALPOORI, or the name given to a conquest in the environs of the place, whence this inscription, we can only surmise, and refer the reader to what has been said of Takitpoora. As I have repeatedly said, the Tâks and Jits are one race.

(Note 5).—As the Jits intermarried with the Yadus at this early period, it is evident they had forced their way amongst the thirty-six royal races, though they have again lost this rank. No Rajpoot would give a daughter to a Jit, or take one from them to wife.

(Note 6).—Salichandra is the sixth in descent from the first-named prince, JIT SALINDRA, allowing twenty-two years to each descent=132—S. 597, date of ins.=S. 465–56=A.D. 409; the period of the colonization of the Punjab by the Gctes, Yuti, or Jits, from the Jaxartes.¹

No. II

Translation of an inscription in the Nail-headed character relative to the Jit race, discovered at Ram Chundrapoora, six miles east of Boondce, in digging a well. It was thence conveyed, and deposited by me in the Museum of the Royal Asiatic Society.

To my foe, salutation! This foe of the race of JIT, CATHIDA (1), how shall I describe, who is resplendent by the favour of the round bosom of ROODRANI (2), and whose ancestor, the warrior TUKHYA (3), formed the garland on the neck of Mahadeva. Better than this foe on the earth's surface, there is none; therefore to him I offer salutation. The sparkling gems on the coronets of kings irradiate the nail of his foot.

Of the race of BOTENA (4) RAJA T'HOT was born; his fame expanded through the universe.

¹ [This Inscription is on a stone built into a wall of a temple of Mahādeva, at Kanaswa, near Kotah. The Author's "Jit prince" of Sālpur is due to a misunderstanding, and in all probability owes its origin to the words *Sambhor-jjatā*, 'the matted hair of Sambhu,' a title of Siva, in line 2 of the Inscription. The Inscription begins with verses in honour of Siva as Sambhu and Sthānu, and glorifies the Maurya race, and a king of that race named Dhavala. Dhavala had as his friend a prince of the Brāhman caste, named Sankuha, whose wife, Degini, bore to him the prince Sivagana, who built a temple to Siva, and endowed it with the revenues of two villages. The date is A.D. 738–9 (*Id*, xix. 55 ff.).]

Pure in mind, strong in arm, and beloved by mankind, such was CHANDRASEN (5). How shall he be described, who broke the strength of his foe, on whom when his sword swims in fight, he appears like a magician. With his subjects he interchanged the merchandise of liberality, of which he reaped the fruits. From him whose history is fair, was born KRITIKA, the deeds of whose arm were buds of renown, forming a necklace of praise in the eyes of mankind. His queen was dear to him as his own existence—how can she be described? As the flame is inseparable from the fire, so was she from her lord—she was the light issuing from the sun—her name GOON-NEWASA (6), and her actions corresponded with her name. By her he had two sons, like gems set in bracelets, born to please mankind. The eldest was named SOOKUNDA, the younger DERUKA. Their fortunes consumed their foes: but their dependents enjoyed happiness. As the flowers of Calp-vriesha are beloved by the gods, so are these brothers by their subjects, granting their requests, and increasing the glory of the race, whence they sprung.—[A useless descriptive stanza left out (7).]

DERUKA had a son, KUHLA, and his was DHUNIKA, whose deeds ascended high—who could fathom the intentions of mankind—whose mind was deep as the ocean—whose ever-hungry faulchion expelled from their mountains and forests the MĒNA tribes, leaving them no refuge in the three wolds, levelling their retreats to the ground. His quiver was filled with crescent-formed arrows—his sword the climber (*vela*) (8), of which pearls are the fruit. With his younger brother Dewaka he reverences gods and Brahmins—and with his own wealth perfumed a sacrifice to the sun [798].

For the much-beloved's (his wife) pleasure this was undertaken. Now the river of ease, life and death, is crossed over, for this abode will devour the body of the foe, into which the west wind wafts the fragrant perfume from the sandal-covered bosom of Laeshmi (9); while from innumerable lotos the gale from the east comes laden with aroma, the hum of the bees as they hang clustering on the flowers of the *padhul* is pleasing to the ear.

So long as Soomeru stands on its base of golden sands, so long may this dwelling endure. So long as the wind blows on the *koonjeris* (10), supporters of the globe, while the firmament endures, or while Laeshmi (11) causes the palm to be extended, so long may his praise and this edifice be stable.

KUHLA (12) formed this abode of virtue, and east thereof a temple to Iswara. By ACHIL, son of the mighty prince YASOOVERMA (13), has its renown been composed in various forms of speech.

(Note 1).—Qu. if this Jit is from (*da*, the mark of the genitive case) Cathay? the land of the *Cat'hac* foes of Alexander, and

probably of the Cathi of the Saurashtra peninsula, alike Scythic as the Jit, and probably the same race originally ?

(Note 2).—Roodrani, an epithet of the martial spouse of Harar-Siva, the god of war, whom the Jit in the preceding inscription invokes.

(Note 3).—Here we have another proof of the Jit being of Takshac race ; this at the same time has a mythological reference to the serpent (*takhya*), which forms the garland of the warlike divinities.

(Note 4).—Of this race I have no other notice, unless it should mean the race (*cula*) was from *Butan*.

(Note 5).—Chandrasen is celebrated in the history of the Pramaras as the founder of several cities, from two of which, *Chandrabhaga*, at the foot of the central plateau of India, in Northern Malwa, and CHANDRAVATI, the ruins of which I discovered at the foot of the Aravulli near Aboo, I possess several valuable memoria, which will, ere long, confirm the opinions I have given of the *Takshac* architect.

(Note 6).—The habitation of virtues.

(Note 7).—This shows these foresters always had the same character.

(Note 8).—Vela is the climber or ivy, sacred to Mahadeva.

(Note 9).—Lacshmi, the *apsara* or sea-nymph, is feigned residing amongst the waters of the lotos-covered lake. In the hot weather the Rajpoot ladies dip their corsets into an infusion of sandal-wood, hence the metaphor.

(Note 10).—Koonjiris are the elephants who support the eight corners of the globe.

(Note 11).—Lacshmi is also dame Fortune, or the goddess of riches, whence this image.

(Note 12).—Kuhl is the fifth in descent from the *opponent* of the Jit.

(Note 13).—Without this name this inscription would have been but of half its value. Fortunately various inscriptions on stone and copper, procured by me from Oojein, settled the era of the death of this prince in S. 1191, which will alike answer for Achil, his son, who was most likely one of the chieftains of KUHLA, who appears to have been of the elder branch of the Pramaras, the foe of the Jit invaders [799].

No. III

Inscription in the Nail-headed character of the Mori Princes of Chectore, taken from a column on the banks of the lake Mansurwur, near that city.

By the lord of waters may thou be protected ! What is there

which resembles the ocean? on whose margin the red buds of honey-yielding trees are eclipsed by swarms of bees, whose beauty expands with the junction of numerous streams. What is like the ocean, inhaling the perfume of the Paryata (1), who was compelled to yield as tribute, wine, wealth, and ambrosia (2)? Such is the ocean!—may he protect thee.

Of a mighty gift, this is the memorial. This lake enslaves the minds of beholders, over whose expanse the varied feathered tribe skim with delight, and whose banks are studded with every kind of tree. Falling from the lofty-peaked mountain, enhancing the beauty of the scene, the torrent rushes to the lake. The mighty sea-serpent (3), o'erspent with toil in the churning of the ocean, repaired to this lake for repose.

On this earth's surface was Maheswara (4), a mighty prince, during whose sway the name of foe was never heard; whose fortune was known to the eight quarters (5); on whose arm victory reclined for support. He was the light of the land. The praises of the race of TWAST'HA (6) were determined by Brahma's own mouth.

Fair, filled with pride, sporting amidst the shoals of the lotos, is the swan fed by his hand, from whose countenance issue rays of glory: such was RAJA BHEEM (7), a skilful swimmer in the ocean of battle, even to where the Ganges pours in her flood (8) did he go, whose abode is *Avanti* (9). With faces resplendent as the moon, on whose lips yet marked with the wound of their husband's teeth, the captive wives of his foes, even in their hearts does Raja Bheem dwell. By his arm he removed the apprehensions of his enemies; he considered them as errors to be expunged. He appeared as if created of fire. He could instruct even the navigator (10) of the ocean.

From him was descended Raja BHOJ (11). How shall he be described; he, who in the field of battle divided with his sword the elephant's head, the pearl from whose brain (12) now adorns his breast; who devours his foe as does RAHOO (13) the sun or moon, who to the verge of space erected edifices in token of victory?

From him was a son whose name was MAUN, who was surcharged with good qualities, and with whom fortune took up her abode. One day he met an aged man: his appearance made him reflect that his frame was as a shadow, evanescent; that the spirit which did inhabit it was like the seed of the scented *Kadama* (14); that the riches of royalty were brittle as a blade of grass; and that man was like a lamp exposed in the light of day. Thus ruminating, for the sake of his race who had gone before him, and for the sake of good works, he made this lake, whose waters are expansive and depth unfathomable. When I look on this ocean-like lake, I ask myself, if it may not be this which is destined to cause the final doom (15).

The warriors and chiefs of RAJA MAUN (16) are men of skill and valour—pure in their lives and faithful. RAJA MAUN is a

heap of virtues—the chief who enjoys his favour may court all the gifts of fortune. When the head is inclined on his lotos foot, the grain of sand which adheres becomes an ornament thereto. Such is the lake, shaded with trees, frequented by birds, which the man of fortune, SRIMAN RAJA MAUN, with great labour formed. By the name of its lord (*Maun*), that of the lake (*survur*) is known to the world. By him versed in the *alankara*, PUSHHA, the son of NAGA BHUT, these stanzas have been framed. *Seventy had elapsed beyond seven hundred years (Samvatsir)*, when the lord of men, the KING OF MALWA (17) formed this lake. By SEVADIT, grandson of KHETRI KARUG, were these lines cut [800].

(Note 1).—The Paryata is also called the Har-singar, or ‘ornament of the neck,’ its flowers being made into collars and bracelets. Its aroma is very delicate, and the blossom dies in a few hours.

(Note 2).—*Imrita*, the food of the immortals, obtained at the churning of the ocean. The contest for this amongst the gods and demons is well known. *Vrishpati*, or Sookra, regent of the planet Venus, on this occasion lost an eye; and hence this Polyphemus has left the nickname of *Sookracharya* to all who have but one eye.

(Note 3).—His name *Matolae*.

(Note 4).—A celebrated name in the genealogies of the TAKSHAC *Pramara*, of which the *Mori* is a conspicuous *Sac’ha* or branch. He was the founder of the city of *Maheswar*, on the southern bank of the Nehrbudda, which commands the ford leading from *Avanti* and *Dhar* (the chief cities of the Mori *Pramaras*) to the Dekhan.

(Note 5).—The ancient Hindu divided his planisphere into eight quarters, on which he placed the Koonjerries or elephants, for its support.

(Note 6).—TWASTHA, or Takshac, is the celebrated *Nagvansa* of antiquity. All are *Agniculas*. Chectore, if erected by the Takshac artist, has a right to the appellation Herbert has so singularly assigned it, namely, *Tacsila*, built by the Tâk; it would be the *Tâk-silla-nagar*, the ‘stone fort of the Takshac,’ alluded to in No. I.

(Note 7).—Raja Bheem, the lord of *Avanti* or Oojein, the king of Malwa, is especially celebrated in the Jain annals. A son of his led a numerous colony into Marwar, and founded many cities between the Looni river and the Aravulli mountains. *All became proselytes to the Jain faith*, and their descendants, who are amongst the wealthiest and most numerous of these mercantile sectarians, are proud of their Rajpoot descent; and it tells when they are called to responsible offices, when they handle the sword as well as the pen.

(Note 8).—*Ganga-Sagur*, or the Island at the mouth of the Ganges, is specified by name as the limit of Bheem’s conquests. His memoria may yet exist even there.

(Note 9).—*Avanti-Nal’h*, Lord of Avanti or Oojein.

(Note 10).—*Paryalaca*, a navigator.

(Note 11).—Raja Bhoj. There is no more celebrated name than this in the annals and literature of the Rajpoots; but there were three princes of the Pramara race who bore it. The period of the last Raja Bhoj, father of Udyadit, is now fixed, by various inscriptions discovered by me, A.D. 1035, and the dates of the two others I had from a leaf of a very ancient Jain MS., obtained at the temple of Nadole, namely, S. 631 and 721, or A.D. 575 and 665. Abulfazil gives the period of the first Bhoj as S. 545; but, as we find that valuable MS. of the period of the last Bhoj confirmed by the date of this inscription of his son MAUN, namely, S. 770, we may put perfect confidence in it, and now consider the periods of the three, namely, S. 631, 721, and 1091—A.D. 567, 665, and 1035—as fixed points in Rajpoot chronology.

(Note 12).—In the head of that class of elephants called Bhadra, the Hindoo says, there is always a large pearl.

(Note 13).—The monster Rahoo of the Rajpoot, who swallows the sun and moon, *causing eclipses*, is *Fenris*, the wolf of the Scandinavians. The *Asi* carried the same ideas West, which they taught within the Indus.

(Note 14).—Kadama is a very delicate flower, that decays almost instantaneously.

(Note 15).—*Maha-pralaya*!

(Note 16).—The MS. annals of the Rana's family state that their founder, Bappa, conquered Cheetore from MAUN MORI. This inscription is therefore invaluable as establishing the era of the conquest of [801] Cheetore by the Gehlotes, and which was immediately following the first irruption of the arms of Islam, as rendered in the annals of Mewar.

(Note 17).—As RAJA MAUN is called *King of Makwa*, it is evident that Cheetore had superseded both Dhar and Awinti as the seat of power. A palace of *Maun Mori* is still shown as one of the antiquities in Cheetore.¹

No. IV

Inscription in the Devanagari character, discovered in January 1822 in Puttun Somnat'h, on the coast of the Saurashtra peninsula, fixing the era of the sovereigns of BALABHI, the '*Balhara kings of Nehrwalla*.'

Adoration to the Lord of all. to *the light of the universe* (1). Adoration to the form indescribable; Him! at whose feet all kneel.

In the year of Mohummud 662. and in that of Vicrama 1320,

¹ [For this Inscription see *ASR*, Progress Report West Circle, 1903-4 p. 56.]

and that of Srimad Balabhi 945, and the Siva-Singa Samvat 151, Sunday, the 13th (*badi*) of the month Asar (2).

The chiefs of Anhulpoor Patun obeyed by numerous princes (here a string of titles), Bhataric Srimad Arjuna Deva (3), of Chauluc race, his minister Sri Maldeva, with all the officers of government, together with *Hormuz of Belacool*, of the government of *Ameer Rookn-oo-Din*, and of *Khwaja Ibrahim of Hormuz*, son of the Admiral (*Nakhoda*) *Noor-oo-Din Feeroz*, together with the CHAURA chieftains Palookdeva, Ranik Sri Someswadeva, Ramdeva, Bheemsing, and all the Chauras and other tribes of rank being assembled (4);

NANSI RAJA, of the Chaura race, inhabiting *Deo Puttun* (5), assembling all the merchants, established ordinances for the repairs and the support of the temples, in order that flowers, oil, and water should be regularly supplied to *Rutna-iswara* (6); *Choul-iswara* (7), and the shrine of *Pulinda Devi* (8), and the rest, and for the purpose of erecting a wall round the temple of Somnat'h, with a gateway to the north. Keelndeo, son of Modula, and Loonsi, son of Johan, both of the Chaura race, together with the two merchants, Balji and Kurha, bestowed the weekly profits of the market for this purpose. While sun and moon endure, let it not be resumed. Feeroz is commanded to see this order obeyed, and that the customary offerings on festivals are continued, and that all surplus offerings and gifts be placed in the treasury for the purposes afore-named. The Chaura chiefs present, and the Admiral Noor-oo-Din, are commanded to see these orders executed on all classes. Heaven will be the lot of the obedient; hell to the breaker of this ordinance.¹

(Note 1).—The invocation, which was long, has been omitted by me. But this is sufficient to show that BAL-NAT'H, the deity worshipped in PUTTUN SOMNAT'H, 'the city of the lord of the Moon,' was the sun-god *Bal*. Hence the title of the dynasties which ruled this region, BAL-CA-RAE, 'the princes of Bal,' and hence the capital BALICAPOOR, 'the city of the sun,' familiarly written *Balabhi*, whose ruins, as well as this inscription, rewarded a long journey. The Rana's ancestors, the *Suryas*, or 'sun-worshippers,' gave their name to the peninsula Saurashtra, or Syria, and the dynasties of CHAURA, and CHAULUC, or SOLANKI, who succeeded them on their expulsion by the Parthians, retained the title of BALICARAES, corrupted by Renaudot's Arabian travellers into BALHARA [802].

(Note 2).—The importance of the discovery of these *new eras* has already been descanted on in the annals, S. 1320–945, the date of this inscription = 375 of Vicrama for the first of the Balabhi era; and 1320–151 gives S. 1169 for the establishment of the *Sevasinga* era—established by the Gohils of the island of Deo,

¹ [See *IA*, xi. 242 f.]

of whom I have another memorial, dated 927 Balabhi Samvat. The Gohils, Chauras, and Gehlotes are all of one stock.

(Note 3).—Arjuna-Deva, *Chaluc*, was prince of Anhulpoor or Anhulwarra, founded by Vanraj Chaura in S. 802—henceforth the capital of the Balica-raes after the destruction of Balabhi.

(Note 4).—This evinces that Anhulwarra was still the emporium of commerce which the travellers of Renaudot and Edrisi describe.

(Note 5).—From this it is evident that the Islandic Deo was a dependent fief of Anhulwarra.

(Note 6).—The great temple of Somnath.

(Note 7).—The tutelary divinity of the Chauluc race.

✓ (Note 8).—The goddess of the Bhil tribes.

No. V

Inscription from the ruins of Aitpoor.¹

In Samvatsir 1034, the 16th of the month Bysak, was erected this dwelling² of Nanukswami.

From Anundpoor came he of Brahmin³ race (may he flourish), Muhee Deva Sri Goha Dit, from whom became famous on the earth the Gohil tribe :

2. Bhoj.

3. Mahindra.

4. Naga.

5. Syeela.

6. Aprajit.

7. Mahindra, no equal as a warrior did then exist on the earth's surface.

8. Kalbhøj was resplendent as the sun.⁴

9. Khoman, an unequalled warrior ; from him

10. Bhitrpad, the Tiluk of the three worlds ; and from whom was

11. Singji ; whose Rancee Maha Lakmee, of the warlike race of Rashtra (Rahtore), and from her was born :

12. Sri Ullut. To him who subdued the earth and became its lord, was born Haria Devi : her praise was known in Hurs-poorā ; and from her was born a mighty warrior in whose arm victory reposed ; the Khetri of the field of battle, who broke the confederacy of his foes, and from the tree of whose fortune riches were the fruit : an altar of learning ; from him was

13. Nirvahana. By the daughter of Sri Jaijah, of Chauhana race, was born

14. Salvahana.

¹ [This name is wrongly transliterated. It is Ātapura, now Ād, Āhad or Āhar, 2 miles E. of Udaipur (*IA*, xxxix., 1910, p. 186 ff.).]

² Aitun.

³ Vipra cula.

⁴ Ark.

Such were their (the princes whose names are given) fortunes which I have related. From him was born [803].

15. Secti Koomar. How can he be described?—He who conquered and made his own the three qualifications (*sacti*);¹ whose fortunes equalled those of Bhirtpad. In the abode of wealth Sri Aitpoor, which he had made his dwelling, surrounded by a crowd of princes; the *kulpdroom* to his people; whose foot-soldiers are many; with vaults of treasure—whose fortunes have ascended to heaven—whose city derives its beauty from the intercourse of merchants; and in which there is but one single evil, the killing darts from the bright eyes of beauty, carrying destruction to the vassals of the prince.²

No. VI

Inscription of Kumar Pal Solanki, in the Mindra of Brimha, in Cheetore, recording his conquest of Salpoori, in the Punjab.

To him who takes delight in the abode of waters; from whose braided locks ambrosial drops continually descend; even this Mahadeva, may he protect thee!

He of Chaulac tribe, having innumerable gems of ancestry, flowing from a sea of splendour, was Moolraj, sovereign of the earth.

What did he resemble, whose renown was bright as a fair sparkling gem, diffusing happiness and ease to the sons of the earth? Many mighty princes there were of his line; but none before had made the great sacrifice.

Generations after him, in the lapse of many years, was Sid Raj, a name known to the world; whose frame was encased in the riches of victory, and whose deeds were sounded over the curtain of the earth; and who, by the fire of his own frame and fortune, heaped up unconsumable wealth.

After him was Kumar Pal Deo. What was he like, who by the strength of his invincible mind crushed all his foes; whose commands the other sovereigns of the earth placed on their foreheads; who compelled the lord of Sacambhari to bow at his feet:

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---|---------------|
| ¹ 1. Pribhoo.
2. Ootchha.
3. Muntri. | } | Three Sactis. |
|-------------------------------------------------------|---|---------------|

² [Erskine, who obtained a correct copy of this Inscription from Pandit Gaurishankar H. Ojha, writes: "In his translation Tod left out several names, namely, Mattat, Khumān II., Mahāyak, Khumān III., and Bhartari Bhat II.; but with the help of a copy recently discovered at Māṇḍal in the house of a descendant of the Pandit whom Tod employed, it has been possible to supply the omissions, and it may be added that these names are confirmed by other inscriptions" (ii. A. 14). Erskine gives a corrected list of the Chiefs of Mewār in ii. B. 8 ff.]

who in person carried his arms to Sewaluk, making the mountain lords to bow before him, even in the city of Salpoori ?

On the mountain Chutterkote . . . ar, the lord of men, in sport placed this [writing] amidst the abode of the gods : even on its pinnacle did he place it. Why ? That it might be beyond the reach of the hands of fools !

As Nissa-Nath, the lord who rules the night, looking on the faces of the fair Kamunis below, feels envious of their fairness, and ashamed of the dark spots on his own countenance, even so does Chutterkote blush at seeing this (Prasishta) on her pinnacle.

Samvat 1207 (month and day broken off) [804].¹

No. VII

Inscriptions on copper-plates found at Nadole relative to the Chohan princes.

The treasury of knowledge of the Almighty (JINA) cuts the knots and intentions of mankind. Pride, conceit, desire, anger, avarice. It is a partition to the three² worlds. Such is MAHAVIRA :³ may he grant thee happiness !

In ancient times the exalted race of Chohan had sovereignty to the bounds of ocean ; and in NADOLE swayed Lacshman, Raja. He had a son named LOHIA ; and his BULRAJ, his VIGRAHA PAL ; from him sprung MAHINDRA DEVA ; his son was SRI ANHULA, the chief amongst the princes of his time, whose fortunes were known to all. His son was SRI BAL PRESAD ; but having no issue, his younger brother, JAIR RAJ, succeeded. His son was PRITHWI PAL, endued with strength and fiery qualities ; but he having no issue, was succeeded by his younger brother JUL ; he by his brother MAUN RAJA, the abode of fortune. His son was ALAN-DEVA.⁴ When he mounted the throne, he reflected this world was a fable : that this frame, composed of unclean elements, of flesh, blood, and dust, was brought to existence in pain. Versed in the books of faith, he reflected on the evanescence of youth, resembling the scintillation of the fire-fly ;⁵ that riches were as the dew-drop on the lotos-leaf, for a moment resembling the pearl, but soon to disappear. Thus meditating, he commanded

¹ [See *Epigraphia Indica*, ii. 422 ff.]

² Tribhawun-loca ; or Patala, Nirtha, Swerga.

³ *Mahavira*, to whom the temple was thus endowed by the Chohan prince, follower of Siva, was the last of the twenty-four Jinas, or apostles of the Jains.

⁴ The prince being the twelfth from Lacshman, allowing twenty-two years to a reign, 264—1218 ; date of inscription, S. 954, or A.D. 898, the period of Lacshman.

⁵ *Kudheata*.

his servants, and sent them forth to his chieftains, to desire them to bestow happiness on others, and to walk in the paths of faith.

In Samvat 1218, in the month of Sawun the 29th,¹ performing the sacrifice to fire, and pouring forth libations to the dispeller of darkness, he bathed the image of the omniscient, the lord of things which move and are immovable, Sudasiva, with the *panch-amrit*,² and made the gifts of gold, grain, and clothes to his spiritual teacher, preceptor, and the Brahmins to their hearts' desire. Taking *tīl* in his hand, with rings on his finger of the *cusa* (grass), holding water and rice in the palm of his hand, he made a gift of five *moodras* monthly in perpetuity to the *Sandera Gatcha*³ for saffron, sandal-wood, and ghee for the service of the temple of MAHAVIRA in the white market (*mandra*) of the town. Hence this copper-plate. This charity which I have bestowed will continue as long as the SANDERA GATCHA exist to receive, and my issue to grant it.

To whoever may rule hereafter I touch their hands, that it may be perpetual. Whoever bestows charity will live sixty thousand years in heaven; whoever resumes it, the like in hell!

Of Pragvavaṇsa,⁴ his name Dhurnidhur, his son Kurmchund being minister, and the *sastri* Munorut Ram, with his sons Visala and Sridhara, by writing this inscription made his name resplendent. By SRI ALAN'S own hand was this copper-plate bestowed. Samvat 1218 [805].⁵

TREATY between the Honourable the English East-India Company and Maharana Bheem Sing, Rana of Oudeepoor, concluded by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe on the part of the Honourable Company, in virtue of full powers granted by his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, K.G., Governor-General, and by Thakoor Ajeet Sing on the part of the Maharana, in virtue of full powers conferred by the Maharana aforesaid.

First Article.—There shall be perpetual friendship, alliance, and unity of interests between the two states, from generation to generation, and the friends and enemies of one shall be the friends and enemies of both.

Second Article.—The British Government engages to protect the principality and territory of Oudeepoor.

Third Article.—The Maharana of Oudeepoor will always act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and acknowledge its supremacy, and will not have any connection with other chiefs or states.

¹ *Sudi choudus*.

² Milk, curds, clarified butter, honey, butter, and sugar.

³ One of eighty-four divisions of Jain tribes.

⁴ Poorval, a branch of the Oswal race of Jain laity.

⁵ [See *Epigraphia Indica* ii. 422 ff.]

Fourth Article.—The Maharana of Oudeepoor will not enter into any negotiation with any chief or state without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government; but his usual amicable correspondence with friends and relations shall continue.

Fifth Article.—The Maharana of Oudeepoor will not commit aggressions upon any one; and if by accident a dispute arises with any one, it shall be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government.

Sixth Article.—One-fourth of the revenue of the actual territory of Oudeepoor shall be paid annually to the British Government as tribute for five years; and after that term three-eighths in perpetuity. The Maharana will not have connection with any other power on account of tribute, and if any one advance claim of that nature, the British Government engages to reply to them.

Seventh Article.—Whereas the Maharana represents that portions of the dominions of Oudeepoor have fallen, by improper means, into the possession of others, and solicits the restitution of those places: the British Government from a want of accurate information is not able to enter into any positive engagement on this subject; but will always keep in view the renovation of the prosperity of the state of Oudeepoor, and after ascertaining the nature of each case, will use its best exertions for the accomplishment of the object, on every occasion on which it may be proper to do so. Whatever places may thus be restored to the state of Oudeepoor by the aid of the British Government, three-eighths of their revenues shall be paid in perpetuity to the British Government.

Eighth Article.—The troops of the state of Oudeepoor shall be furnished according to its means, at the requisition of the British Government.

Ninth Article.—The Maharana of Oudeepoor shall always be absolute ruler of his own country, and the British jurisdiction shall not be introduced into that principality.

Tenth Article.—The present treaty of ten articles having been concluded at Dihlee, and signed and sealed by Mr. Charles Theophilus Metcalfe and Thakoor Ajeet Sing Buhadoor [806], the ratifications of the same, by his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, and Maharana Bheem Sing, shall be mutually delivered within a month from this date.

Done at Dihlee, this thirteenth day of January, A.D. 1818.

(Signed) C. T. METCALFE (L.S.).
THAKOOR AJEET SING (L.S.)

BOOK V

ANNALS OF MĀRWĀR

CHAPTER 1

Etymology of Mārṡār.—Marwar is a corruption of Maruwar, classically Marusthali or Marusthan, ‘the region of death.’ It is also called Marudesa, whence the unintelligible Mardes of the early Muhammadan writers. The bards frequently style it Rāthar, which is synonymous with Marudesa, or, when it suits the rhyme, simply Maru. Though now restricted to the Rathor subject to the Rathor race, its ancient and appropriate application comprehended the entire ‘desert,’ from the Sutlej to the ocean.

The Rāthors.—A concise genealogical sketch of the Rathor rulers of Marwar has already been given ;¹ we shall therefore briefly pass over those times “when a genealogical tree would strike root in any soil”; when the ambition of the Rathors, whose branches (*sakha*) spread rapidly over ‘the region of death,’ was easily gratified with a solar [2] pedigree. As it is desirable, however, to record their own opinions regarding their origin, we shall make extracts from the chronicles (hereafter enumerated), instead of fusing the whole into one mass, as in the Annals of Jewar. The reader will occasionally be presented with simple translations of whatever is most interesting in the Rathor records.

Authorities.—Let us begin with a statement of the author’s authorities ; first, a genealogical roll of the Rathors, furnished by a Yati, or Jain priest, from the temple of Narlai.² This roll

¹ See Vol. I. p. 105.

² An ancient town in Marwar [about 80 miles S.E. of Jodhpur city].

is about fifty feet in length, commencing, as usual, with a theogony, followed by the production of the 'first Rathor from the spine (*rahat*) of Indra,'¹ the nominal father being 'Yavanaswa, prince of Parlipur.' Of the topography of Parlipur, the Rathors have no other notion than that it was in the north; but in the declared race of their progenitor, a Yavan prince, of the Aswa or Asi tribe,² we have a proof of the Scythic origin of this Rajput family.

The chronicle proceeds with the foundation of Kanyakubja,³ or Kanauj, and the origin of Kama-dhwaja⁴ (*vulgo* Kamdhuj), the titular appellation of its princes, and concludes with the thirteen great Sakha, or ramifications of the Rathors, and their Gotracharya, or genealogical creed.⁵

Another roll, of considerable antiquity, commences in the fabulous age, with a long string of names, without facts; its sole value consists in the esteem in which the tribe holds it. We may omit all that precedes Nain Pal, who, in the year S. 526 (A.D. 470⁶), conquered Kanauj, slaying its monarch Ajaipal; from which period the race was termed Kanaujia Rathor. The genealogy proceeds to Jaichand, the last monarch of Kanauj; relates the emigration of his nephew Siahji, or Sivaji, and his establishment

¹ [A folk etymology, the name being derived from Rāshtrakūta, which may mean the chief, as opposed to the rank and file of the Ratta dynasty; but it has also been connected with Reddi, a Dravidian caste in S. India (*BG*, i. Part i. 119, Part ii. 22 note, 178, 383 ff.).]

² One of the four tribes which overturned the Greek kingdom of Bactria. The ancient Hindu cosmographers claim the Aswa as a grand branch of their early family, and doubtless the Indo-Scythic people, from the Oxus to the Ganges, were one race.

³ From *kubja* (the spine) of the virgin (*kanya*) [referring to the legend of the hundred daughters of Kusanābha rendered crooked by Vāyu].

⁴ Kama-dhwaja, 'the banner of Cupid.'

⁵ Gotama Gotra, Mardwandani Sakha, Sukracharya Guru, Garapatya Agni, Pankhani Devi.

⁶ It is a singular fact, that there is no available date beyond the fourth century for any of the great Rajput families, all of whom are brought from the north. This was the period of one of the grand irruptions of the Getic races from Central Asia, who established kingdoms in the Panjab and on the Indus. Pal or Pali, the universal adjunct to every proper name, indicates the pastoral race of these invaders [?]. [The reason why the Rājput genealogies do not go back to an early date is that many of them were recruited from Gurjara and other foreign tribes. The tale of the origin of the Rāthors from Kanauj is a myth, as the dynasty of that place belonged to the Gahadvāla or Gaharwār clan. The object of the story was to affiliate the tribe to the heroic Jaichand (Smith, *EHI*, 385).]

in the desert (Maruwar), with a handful of his brethren (a wreck of the mighty kingdom of Kanauj); and terminates with the death of Raja Jaswant Singh in S. 1735 (A.D. 1679), describing every branch and scion, until we see them spreading over Maru [8].

Genealogy ceases to be an uninteresting pursuit when it enables us to mark the progress of animal vegetation, from the germ to the complete development of the tree, until the land is overshadowed with its branches; and bare as is the chronicle to the moralist or historian, it exhibits to the observer of the powers of the animal economy, data which the annals of no other people on earth can furnish. In A.D. 1193 we see the throne of Jaichand overturned; his nephew, with a handful of retainers, taking service with a petty chieftain in the Indian desert. In less than four centuries we find the descendants of these exiles of the Ganges occupying nearly the whole of the desert; having founded three capitals, studded the land with the castles of its feudality, and bringing into the field fifty thousand men, *ek bap ka beta*, 'the sons of one father,' to combat the emperor of Delhi. What a contrast does their unnoticed growth present to that of the Islamite conquerors of Kanauj, of whom five dynasties passed away in ignorance of the renovated existence of the Rathor, until the ambition of Sher Shah brought him into contact with the descendants of Siahji, whose valour caused him to exclaim "he had nearly lost the crown of India for a handful of barley," in allusion to the poverty of their land!¹

What a sensation does it not excite when we know that a sentiment of kindred pervades every individual of this immense affiliated body, who can point out, in the great tree, the branch of his origin, whilst not one is too remote from the main stem to forget its pristine connexion with it! The moral sympathies created by such a system pass unheeded by the chronicler, who must deem it futile to describe what all sensibly feel, and which renders his page, albeit little more than a string of names, one of paramount interest to the 'sons of Siahji.'

The third authority is the Suraj Prakas (Surya Prakasa), composed by the bard Karnidhan, during the reign and by command of Raja Abhai Singh. This poetic history, comprised in 7500 stanzas, was copied from the original manuscript, and

¹ [See p. 835.]

sent to me by Raja Man, in the year 1820.¹ As usual, the Kavya (bard) commences with the origin of all things, tracing the Rathors from the creation down to Sumitra; from whence is a blank until he recommences with the name of Kamdhuja, which appears to have been the title assumed by Nain Pal, on his conquest of Kanauj. Although Karnidhan must have taken his facts from the [4] royal records, they correspond very well with the roll from Narlai. The bard is, however, in a great hurry to bring the founder of the Rathors into Marwar, and slurs over the defeat and death of Jaichand. Nor does he dwell long on his descendants, though he enumerates them all, and points out the leading events until he reaches the reign of Jaswant Singh, grandfather of Abhai Singh, who "commanded the bard to write the Suraj Prakas."

The next authority is the Raj Rupak Akhyat, or 'the royal relations.' This work commences with a short account of the Suryavansa, from their cradle at Ajodhya; then takes up Siahji's migration, and in the same strain as the preceding work, rapidly passes over all events until the death of Raja Jaswant; but it becomes a perfect chronicle of events during the minority of his successor Ajit, his eventful reign, and that of Abhai Singh, to the conclusion of the war against Sarbuland Khan, viceroy of Gujarat. Throwing aside the meagre historical introduction, it is professedly a chronicle of the events from S. 1735 (A.D. 1679) to S. 1787 (A.D. 1734), the period to which the Suraj Prakas is brought down.

A portion of the Bijai Vilas, a poem of 100,000 couplets, also fell into my hands: it chiefly relates to the reign of the prince whose name it bears, Bijai Singh, the son of Bakhta Singh. It details the civil wars waged by Bijai Singh and his cousin Ram Singh (son of Abhai Singh), and the consequent introduction of the Mahrattas into Marwar.

From a biographical work named simply Khyat, or 'Story,' I obtained that portion which relates to the lives of Raja Udai Singh, the friend of Akbar; his son Raja Gaj, and grandson Jaswant Singh. These sketches exhibit in true colours the character of the Rathors.

Besides these, I caused to be drawn up by an intelligent man, who had passed his life in office at Jodhpur, a memoir of transactions from the death of Ajit Singh, in A.D. 1629, down to the treaty

¹ This manuscript is deposited in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society.

with the English Government in A.D. 1818. The ancestors of the narrator had filled offices of trust in the State, and he was a living chronicle both of the past and present.

From these sources, from conversations with the reigning sovereign, his nobles, his ambassadors, and subjects, materials were collected for this sketch of the Rathors—barren, indeed, of events at first, but redundant of them as we advance.

A genealogical table of the Rathors is added, showing the grand offsets, whose [5] descendants constitute the feudal frèrage of the present day. A glance at this table will show the claims of each house; and in its present distracted condition, owing to civil broils, will enable the paramount power to mediate, when necessary, with impartiality, in the conflicting claims of the prince and his feudatories.

Rāthor Origins.—We shall not attempt to solve the question, whether the Rathors are, or are not, Ravi-vansa, ‘Children of the Sun’; nor shall we dispute either the birth or etymon of the first Rathor (from the *rahat* or spine of Indra), or search in the north for the kingdom of the nominal father; but be content to conclude that this celestial interference in the household concerns of the Parlipur prince was invented to cover some disgrace. The name of Yavana, with the adjunct Aswa or Asi, clearly indicates the Indo-Scythic ‘barbarian’ from beyond the Indus. In the genealogy of the Lunar races descended of Budha and Ila (Mercury and the Earth—see Table I. Vol. I.), the five sons of Bajaswa are made to people the countries on and beyond the Indus; and in the scanty records of Alexander’s invasion mention is made of many races, as the Assasenae and Assakenoi, still dwelling in these regions.

This period was fruitful in change to the old-established dynasties of the Hindu continent, when numerous races of barbarians, namely, Huns, Parthians, and Getae, had fixed colonies on her western and northern frontiers.¹

“In S. 526 (A.D. 470) Nain Pal obtained Kanauj, from which period the Rathors assumed the title of Kamdhuji. His son was Padarath,² his Punja, from whom sprung the thirteen great families, bearing the patronymic Kamdhuji, namely :

¹ Cosmas. Annals of Mewār. Getae or Jat Inscription, Appendix, Vol. I.

² Called Bharat in the Yati’s roll; an error of one or other of the authorities in transcribing from the more ancient records.

"1st. Dharma Bambo : his descendants styled Danesra Kamdhuj.

"2nd. Banuda, who fought the Afghans at Kangra, and founded Abhaipur : hence the Abhaipura Kamdhuj.

"3rd. Virachandra; who married the daughter of Hamira Chauhan, of Anhilpur Patan ; he had fourteen sons, who emigrated to the Deccan : his descendants called Kapolia Kamdhuj.

"4th. Amrabijai, who married the daughter of the Pramara prince of Koragarh¹ on the Ganges ;—slew 16,000 Pramaras, and took possession of Kora, whence the Kora Kamdhuj² [6].

"5th. Sujan Binod : his descendants Jarkhera Kamdhuj.

"6th. Padma, who conquered Orissa, and also Bogilana,³ from Raja Tejman Yadu.

"7th. Aihar, who took Bengal from the Yadus : hence Aihara Kamdhuj.

"8th. Bardeo ; his elder brother offered him in appanage Benares, and eighty-four townships ; but he preferred founding a city, which he called Parakhpur :⁴ his descendants Parakh Kamdhuj.

"9th. Ugraprabhu, who made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Hinglaj Chandel,⁵ who, pleased with the severity of his penance, caused a sword to ascend from the fountain, with which he conquered the southern countries touching the ocean :⁶ his descendants Chandela Kamdhuj.

"10th. Mukتمان, who conquered possessions in the north from Bhan Tuar : his descendants Bira Kamdhuj.

"11th. Bharat, at the age of sixty-one, conquered Kanaksar, under the northern hills, from Rudrasen of the Bargujar tribe : his descendants styled Bhariau Kamdhuj.

"12th. Alankal founded Khairoda ; fought the Asuras (Muslims) on the banks of the Attock : his descendants Kherodia Kamdhuj.

¹ [In the Fatehpur District (*IGI*, xv. 398).]

² An inscription given in the *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society* (vol. ix. p. 440), found at Kora, relates to a branch of the Kanauj family.

³ [? Bāglān in Nāsik District, Bombay (*IGI*, vi. 190).]

⁴ Qu. Parkar, towards the Indus ?

⁵ On the coast of Mekran.

⁶ If we can credit these legends, we see the Rathor Rajputs spreading over all India. I give these bare facts *verbatim*, as some traces may yet remain of the races in those countries. [These are pure legends, see Smith, *EHI*, 377 ff.]

"13th. Chand obtained Tarapur in the north. He married a daughter of the Chauhan of Tahera,¹ a city well known to the world : with her he came to Benares.

"And thus the race of Surya multiplied.

"Bambo,² or Dharma-Bambo, sovereign of Kanauj, had a son, Ajaichand.³ For twenty-one generations they bore the titles of Rao ; afterwards that of Raja. Udaichand, Narpati, Kanak-sen, Suhassal, Meghsen, Birabhadra, Deosen, Bimalsen, Dansen, Mukund, Budha, Rajsen, Tirpal, Sripunja, Bijaichand,⁴ his son Jaichand, who became the Naik of Kanauj, with the surname Dal Pangla."

Jaichand.—Nothing is related of the actions of these princes, from the conquest of Kanauj [7] by Nain Pal, in A.D. 470, and the establishment of his thirteen grandsons in divers countries, until we reach Jaichand, in whose person (A.D. 1193) terminated the Rathor sovereignty on the Ganges ; and we have only twenty-one names to fill up the space of seven centuries, although the testimony on which it is given⁵ asserts there were twenty-one princes bearing the title of Rao prior to the assumption of that of Raja. But the important information is omitted as to who was the first to assume this title. There are names in the Yati's roll that are not in the Suraj Prakas, which we have followed ; and one of these, Rangatdhvaj, is said to have overcome Jasraj Tuar, king of Delhi, for whose period we have correct data : yet we cannot incorporate the names in the Yati's roll with that just given without vitiating each ; and as we have no facts, it is useless to perplex ourselves with a barren genealogy. But we can assert that it must have been a splendid dynasty, and that their actions, from the conqueror Nain Pal to the last prince, Jaichand, were well deserving of commemoration. That they were commemorated in written records there cannot be a doubt ; for the trade of the bardic chroniclers in India has flourished in all ages.

¹ [Bahra] a city often mentioned by Ferishta [i. Introd. lxxii.] in the early times of the Muhammadans.

² Nain Pal must have preceded Dharma-Bambo by five or six generations.

³ Called Abhaichand, in the Suraj Prakas.

⁴ Also styled Bijaipal ; classically Vijayapala, 'Fosterer of Victory.

⁵ The Suraj Prakas.

The City of Kanauj.—Although we have abundant authority to assert the grandeur of the kingdom of Kanauj¹ at the period of its extinction, both from the bard Chand and the concurrent testimony of Muhammadan authors, yet are we astonished at the description of the capital, attested not only by the annals of the Rathors, but by those of their antagonists, the Chauhans.

The circumvallation of Kanauj covered a space of more than thirty miles ; and its numerous forces obtained for its prince the epithet of 'Dal Pangla,' meaning that the mighty host (*Dal*) was lame or had a halt in its movements owing to its numbers, of which Chand observes that in the march "the van had reached their ground ere the rear had moved off." The Suraj Prakas gives the amount of this army, which in numbers might compete with the most potent which, in ancient or modern times, was ever sent into the field. "Eighty thousand men in armour ; thirty thousand horse covered with *pakhar*, or quilted mail ; three hundred thousand Paiks or infantry ; and of bow-men and battle-axes two hundred thousand ; besides a cloud of elephants bearing warriors " [8].

This immense army was to oppose the Yavana beyond the Indus ; for, as the chronicle says, "The king of Gor and Irak crossed the Attock. There Jai Singh met the conflict, when the Nilab changed its name to Surkhab."² There was the Ethiopic (*Habshi*) king, and the skillful Frank learned in all arts,³ overcome by the lord of Kanauj."

The chronicles of the Chauhans, the sworn foe of the Rathors, repeat the greatness of the monarch of Kanauj, and give him the title of "Mandalika."⁴ They affirm that he overcame the king of the north,⁵ making eight tributary kings prisoners ; that he twice defeated Siddhraj, king of Anhilwara, and extended his dominions south of the Nerbudda, and that at length, in the fulness of his pride, he had divine honours paid him in the rite Swayam-

¹ See Inscriptions of Jaichand, Vijayachand, and Kora, in the 9th and 14th vols. of the *Asiatic Researches*.

² The Nilab, or 'blue water,' the Indus, changed its name to the 'Red-stream' (Surkhab), or 'ensanguined.'

³ It is singular that Chand likewise mentions the Frank as being in the army of Shihabu-d-din, in the conquest of his sovereign Prithiraj. If this be true, it must have been a desultory or fugitive band of crusaders.

⁴ [Ruler of a district (*mandal*).]

⁵ They thus style the kings west of the Indus.

vara.¹ This distinction, which involves the most august ceremony, and is held as a virtual assumption of universal supremacy, had in all ages been attended with disaster. In the rite of Swayamvara every office, down to the scullion of the Rasora, or banquet-hall, must be performed by royal personages; nor had it been attempted by any of the dynasties which ruled India since the Pandu: not even Vikrama, though he introduced his own era, had the audacity to attempt what the Rathor determined to execute. All India was agitated by the accounts of the magnificence of the preparations, and circular invitations were despatched to every prince, inviting him to assist at the pompous ceremony, which was to conclude with the nuptials of the raja's only daughter, who, according to the customs of those days, would select her future lord from the assembled chivalry of India. The Chauhan bard describes the revelry and magnificence of the scene: the splendour of the Yajnasāla, or 'hall of sacrifice,' surpassing all powers of description; in which were assembled all the princes of India, "save the lord of the Chauhans, and Samara of Mewar," who, scorning this assumption of supremacy, Jaichand made their effigies in gold, assigning to them the most servile posts; that of the king of the Chauhans being Poliya, or 'porter of the hall.' Prithiraj, whose life was one succession of feats of arms and gallantry, had a double motive for action—love and revenge. He determined to enjoy both, or perish in the attempt; "to spoil the sacrifice and bear away the fair of Kanauj from its halls, though beset [9] by all the heroes of Hind." The details of this exploit form the most spirited of the sixty-nine books of the bard. The Chauhan executed his purpose, and, with the élite of the warriors of Delhi, bore off the princess in open day from Kanauj. A desperate running-fight of five days took place. To use the words of the bard, "he preserved his prize; he gained immortal renown, but he lost the sinews of Delhi." So did Jaichand those of Kanauj; and each, who had singly repelled all attacks of the kings, fell in turn a prey to the Ghori Sultan,² who skilfully availed himself of these international feuds, to make a permanent conquest of India.

The Great States of North India.—We may here briefly describe

¹ [The "Seonair" of the text seems to represent *swayamvara*, the rite of selection of her husband by a maiden.]

² [Shihābu-d-dīn, A.D. 1175–1206.]

the state of Hindustan at this epoch, and for centuries previous to the invasions of Mahmud.

There were four great kingdoms, namely—

1. Delhi, under the Tuars and Chauhans.
2. Kanauj, under the Rathors.
3. Mewar, under the Guhilots.
4. Anhilwara, under the Chauras and Solankis.

To one or other of these States the numerous petty princes of India paid homage and feudal service. The boundary between Delhi and Kanauj was the Kalinadi, or 'black stream'; the Kalindi of the Greek geographers.¹ Delhi claimed supremacy over all the countries westward to the Indus, embracing the lands watered by its arms, from the foot of the Himalaya,—the desert—to the Aravalli chain. The Chauhan king, successor to the Tuars, enumerated one hundred and eight great vassals, many of whom were subordinate princes.

The power of Kanauj extended north to the foot of the Snowy mountains; eastward to Kasi (Benares); and across the Chambal to the lands of the Chandel (now Bundelkhand); on the south its possessions came in contact with Mewar.

Mewar, or Madhyawar, the 'central region,'² was bounded to the north by the Aravalli, to the south by the Pramaras of Dhar (dependent on Kanauj), and westward by Anhilwara, which State was bounded by the ocean to the south, the Indus on the west, and the desert to the north.

There are records of great wars amongst all these princes. The Chauhans and Guhilots, whose dominions were contiguous, were generally allies, and the Rathors and Tuars (predecessors of the Chauhans), who were only divided by the Kalinadi, often dyed it with their blood. Yet this warfare was never of an [10] exterminating kind; a marriage quenched a feud, and they remained friends until some new cause of strife arose.

If, at the period preceding Mahmud, the traveller had journeyed

¹ [The Kālindi River, the name of which was corrupted into Kālīnadi, rises in the Muzaffarnagar District, and joins the Ganges near Kanauj, 310 miles from its source (*IGI*, xiv. 309).]

² [The word Mewār represents the original Medapāṭa, "land of the Med tribe." The bulk of the army of Chashtana, the Western Satrap, appears to have consisted of Mevas or Medas, from whose settlement in Central Rājputāna the province seems to have received its present name, Mewāda (*BG*, i. Part i 33).]

through the courts of Europe, and taken the line of route, in subsequent ages pursued by Timur, by Byzantium, through Ghazni (adorned with the spoils of India), to Delhi, Kanauj, and Anhilwara, how superior in all that constitutes civilization would the Rajput princes have appeared to him !—in arts immeasurably so ; in arms by no means inferior. At that epoch, in the west, as in the east, every State was governed on feudal principles. Happily for Europe, the democratical principle gained admittance, and imparted a new character to her institutions ; while the third estate of India, indeed of Asia, remained permanently excluded from all share in the government which was supported by its labour, every pursuit but that of arms being deemed ignoble. To this cause, and the endless wars which feudality engendered, Rajput nationality fell a victim when attacked by the means at command of the despotic kings of the north.

The Invasion of Shihābu-d-dīn.—Shihabu-d-din, king of Ghor, taking advantage of these dissensions, invaded India. He first encountered Prithiraj, the Chauhan king of Delhi, the outwork and bulwark of India, which fell. Shihabu-d-din then attacked Jaichand, who was weakened by the previous struggle. Kanauj put forth all her strength, but in vain ; and her monarch was the last son of “ the Yavana of Parlipur ” who ruled on the banks of the Ganges. He met a death congenial to the Hindu, being drowned in the sacred stream in attempting to escape.¹

This event happened in S. 1249 (A.D. 1193), from which period the overgrown, gorgeous Kanauj ceased to be a Hindu city, when the “ thirty-six races ” of vassal princes, from the Himalaya to the Vindhya, who served under the banners of Bardai Sena,² retired to their patrimonial estates. But though the Rathor name ceased to exist on the shores of the Ganges, destiny decreed that a scion should be preserved, to produce in a less favoured land a long line of kings ; that in thirty-one generations his descendant, Raja Man, “ Raj, Rajeswara,” ‘ the king, the lord of kings,’ should be as vainglorious of the sceptre of Maru as either Jaichand when he commanded divine honours, or his still more

¹ [His corpse was recognized by his false teeth, “ a circumstance which throws some light on the state of manners ” (Elphinstone 365).]

² Another title of the monarch of Kanauj, “ the bard of the host,” from which we are led to understand he was as well versed in the poetic art as his rival, the Chauhan prince of Delhi.

remote ancestor Nain Pal fourteen [11] centuries before, when he erected his throne in Kanauj. The Rathor may well boast of his pedigree, when he can trace it through a period of 1360 years, in lineal descent from male to male; and contented with this, may leave to the mystic page of the bard, or the interpolated pages of the Puranas, the period preceding Nain Pal.

CHAPTER 2

Migration of the Rāthors into Rājputāna.—In S. 1268 (A.D. 1212), eighteen years subsequent to the overthrow of Kanauj, Siāhji and Setram, grandsons of its last monarch, abandoned the land of their birth, and with two hundred retainers, the wreck of their vassalage, journeyed westward to the desert, with the intent, according to some of the chronicles, of making a pilgrimage to the shrine of Dwarka;¹ but according to others, and with more probability, to carve their fortunes in fresh fields, unscathed by the luxuries in which they had been tried, and proud in their poverty and sole heritage, the glory of Kanauj [12].

The Tribes of Rājputāna.—Let us rapidly sketch the geography of the tribes over whom it was destined these emigrants of the Ganges should obtain the mastery, from the Jumna to the Indus, and the Gara River to the Aravalli hills. First, on the east, the Kachhwahas, under Malesi, whose father, Rao Pajun, was killed in the war of Kanauj. Ajmer, Sambhar, and the best lands of the Chauhans fell rapidly to the Islamite—though the strongholds of the Aravalli yet sheltered some, and Nadol continued for a century more to be governed by a descendant of Bisaldeo. Mansi, Rana of the Indha² tribe, a branch of the Parihars, still held

¹ [The date of Siha or Siāhji, the traditional founder of the Mārwar dynasty, was until recently uncertain. An inscription on a memorial stone gives the date as Vikrama Sambat 1330, A.D. 1387, and for his grandson, Dhūhada V.S. 1336, A.D. 1393. He is called the eldest son of Asvatthāma mentioned in the text (IA, xi. 301). The tradition is vitiated by the fact that this was not the first appearance of Rāthors in Rājputāna. An inscription at Bijapur states that five of this clan ruled at Hathūndi (Hastikūndi) in the tenth century (Erskine iii. A. 54; IGI, vi. 247 f.).]

² [The Indhas occupy the W. tract of Mārwar; will not eat the flesh of the boar; believe that no member of the clan can be struck by lightning, owing to the prediction of Khākhaji, one of their ancestors; no epidemic ever breaks out in their territory as it is under the protection of their goddess, Chāwanda Māta (*Census Report, Mārwar, 1891, ii. 31*).]

Mandor, and the various Bhumias around paid him a feudal subjection as the first chief of the desert. Northward, about Nagor, lived the community of the Mohils (a name now extinct), whose chief place was Aurint, on which depended 1440 villages. The whole of the tracts now occupied by Bikaner to Bhatner were partitioned into petty republics of Getae or Jats, whose history will hereafter be related. Thence to the Gara River, the Johyas, Dahyas, Kathis, Langahas, and other tribes whose names are now obliterated, partly by the sword, partly by conversion to Islamism. The Bhattis had for centuries been established within the bounds they still inhabit, and little expected that this handful of Rathors was destined to contract them. The Sodha princes adjoined the Bhattis south, and the Jarejas occupied the valley of the Indus and Cutch. The Solankis intervened between them and the Pramaras of Abu and Chandravati, which completed the chain by junction with Nadol. Various chieftains of the more ancient races, leading a life of fearless independence, acknowledging an occasional submission to their more powerful neighbours, were scattered throughout this space; such as the Dabhis of Idar and Mewa; the Gohils of Kherdhar; the Deoras of Sanchor; and Sonigiras of Jalor; the Mohils of Aurint; the Sankhlas of Sandli, etc.; all of whom have either had their birthright seized by the Rathor, or the few who have survived and yet retain them are enrolled amongst their allodial vassals.

The Exploits of Siahji.—The first exploit of Siahji was at Kulumad (twenty miles west of the city of Bikaner, not then in existence), the residence of a chieftain of the Solanki tribe. He received the royal emigrants with kindness, and the latter repaid it by the offer of their services to combat his enemy, the Jareja chieftain of Phulra, well known in all the annals of the period, from the Sutlej to the ocean, as Lakha Phulani, the most celebrated riever of Maru, whose castle of Phulra stood amidst the almost inaccessible [13] sandhills of the desert. By this timely succour the Solanki gained a victory over Lakha, but with the loss of Setram and several of his band. In gratitude for this service, the Solanki bestowed upon Siahji his sister in marriage, with an ample dower; and he continued his route by Anhilwara Patan, where he was hospitably entertained by its prince, to the shrine of Dwarka. It was the good fortune of Siahji again to encounter Lakha, whose wandering habits had brought him on a

foray into the territory of Anhilwara. Besides the love of glory and the ambition of maintaining the reputation of his race, he had the stimulus of revenge, and that of a brother's blood. He was successful, though he lost a nephew, slaying Lakha in single combat, which magnified his fame in all these regions, of which Phulani was the scourge.

Flushed with success, we hear nothing of the completion of Siahji's pilgrimage; but obedient to the axiom of the Rajput, "get land," we find him on the banks of the Luni, exterminating, at a feast, the Dabhis of Mewa,¹ and soon after the Gohils of Kherdhar,² whose chief, Maheshdas, fell by the sword of the grandson of Jaichand. Here, in the "land of Kher," amidst the sandhills of the Luni (the salt-river of the desert), from which the Gohils were expelled, Siahji planted the standard of the Rathors.

At this period a community of Brahmans held the city and extensive lands about Pali, from which they were termed Paliwal;³ and being greatly harassed by the incursions of the mountaineers, the Mers and Minas, they called in the aid of Siahji's band, which readily undertook and executed the task of rescuing the Brahmans from their depredations. Aware that they would be renewed, they offered Siahji lands to settle amongst them, which were readily accepted; and here he had a son by the Solankani, to whom he gave the name of Aśvatthama. With her, it is recorded, the suggestion originated to make himself lord of Pali; and it affords another example of the disregard of the early Rajputs for the sacred order, that on the Holi, or Saturnalia, he found an opportunity to "obtain land," putting to death the heads of this

¹ The Dabhi was one of the thirty-six royal races; and this is almost the last mention of their holding independent possessions. See Vol. I. p. 138, and the map for the position of Mewa at the bend of the Luni. [Kher is now a ruined village near Jasol, about 60 miles S.W. of Jodhpur city, on the left bank of the Luni.]

² In my last journey through these regions, I visited the chief of the Gohils at Bhavnagar, in the Gulf of Cambay. I transcribed their defective annals, which trace their migration from 'Kherdhar,' but in absolute ignorance where it is! See Vol. I. p. 137.

³ [Pāli, 45 miles S.S.E. of Jodhpur city. The Pāliwāls have some remarkable customs; they do not observe the Rākhi festival because of a tradition that on the day the town was sacked by Shihābu-d-dīn, the sacred cords of the men slain and the bangles of those women who immolated themselves weighed respectively 9 and 84 maunds. Compare the story of Chitor (Vol. I. p. 383) (*Census Report Mārwar 1901* ii 7011

community, and adding the district to his conquests [14]. Siahji outlived his treachery only twelve months, leaving his acquisitions as a nucleus for further additions to his children. He had three sons, Asvatthama, Soning, and Ajmall.

Asvatthama.—One of the chronicles asserts that it was Asvatthama, the successor of Siahji, who conquered “the land of Kher” from the Gohils. By the same species of treachery by which his father attained Pali, he lent his aid to establish his brother Soning in Idar. This small principality, on the frontiers of Gujarat, then appertained, as did Mewa, to the Dabhi race; and it was during the *malam*, or period of mourning for one of its princes, that the young Rathor chose to obtain a new settlement. His descendants are distinguished as the Hathundia¹ Rathors. The third brother, Aja, carried his forays as far as the extremity of the Saurashtra peninsula, where he decapitated Bikamsi, the Chawara chieftain of Okhamandala,² and established himself. From this act his branch became known as the ‘Vadhel’;³ and the Vadhels are still in considerable number in that furthest track of ancient Hinduism called the “World’s End.”

Asvatthama died, leaving eight sons, who became the heads of clans, namely, Duhar, Jopsi, Khampsao, Bhopsu, Dhandhal, Jethmall, Bandar, and Uhar; of which, four, Duhar, Dhandhal, Jethmall, and Uhar, are yet known.

Duhar or Dhūhada.—Duhar succeeded Asvatthama. He made an unsuccessful effort to recover Kanauj; and then attempted to wrest Mandor from the Parihars, but “watered their lands with his blood.” He left seven sons, namely, Raepal, Kiratpal, Behar, Pital, Jugel, Dalu, and Begar.

Rāēpāl, Chhada, Thīda, Salkha, Biramdeo, Chonda.—Raepal succeeded, and revenged the death of his father, slaying the Parihar of Mandor, of which he even obtained temporary possession. He had a progeny of thirteen sons, who rapidly spread their issue over these regions. He was succeeded by his son Kanhal [or Kānpāl], whose successor was his son Jalhan; he was

¹ [Who take their name from their capital, Hathūndi, now ruined, near Bijapur in S.E. Mārwār.]

² On the western coast of the Saurashtra peninsula. [The Okhamandal legend calls the Rāthor leaders Virāval and Bijal, who overcame the Chāwaras, and abandoning the name Rāthor, called themselves Vadhel, ‘slayers’ (BG, v. 590 f.).]

³ From *badh*, *vadh*, ‘to slay.’

succeeded by his son Chhada, whose successor was his son Thida. All these carried on a desperate warfare with, and made conquests from, their neighbours. Chhada and Thida are mentioned as very troublesome neighbours in the annals of the Bhattis of Jaisalmer, who were compelled to carry the war against them into the "land of Kher." Rao Thida took the rich district of Bhinmal from the Sonigira, and made other additions to his territory from the Deoras and Balechas [15]. He was succeeded by Salakh or Salkha. His issue, the Salkhawats, now Bhumias, are yet numerous both in Mewa and Rardara. Salkha was succeeded by his son Biramdeo, who attacked the Johyas of the north, and fell in battle. His descendants, styled Biramot and Bijawat, from another son Bija, are numerous at Setru, Siwana, and Dechu. Biramdeo was succeeded by his son Chonda, an important name in the annals of the Rathors. Hitherto they had attracted notice by their valour and their raids, whenever there was a prospect of success; but they had so multiplied in eleven generations that they now essayed a higher flight. Collecting all the branches bearing the name of Rathor, Chonda assaulted Mandor, slew the Parihar prince, and planted the banners of Kanauj on the ancient capital of Maru.

So fluctuating are the fortunes of the daring Rajput, ever courting distinction and coveting *bhum*, 'land,' that but a short time before this success, Chonda had been expelled from all the lands acquired by his ancestors, and was indebted to the hospitality of a bard of the Charan tribe, at Kalu; and they yet circulate the *kabit*, or quatrain, made by him when, in the days of his greatness, he came and was refused admittance to "the lord of Mandor"; he took post under the balcony, and improvised a stanza, reminding him of the Charan of Kalu: "*Chonda nahin āwē chit, Khichar Kalu tanna? Bhup bhaya bhay-bhit, Mandawar ra mālya?*" "Does not Chonda remember the porridge of Kalu, now that the lord of the land looks so terrific from his balcony of Mandawar?" Once established in Mandor, he ventured to assault the imperial garrison of Nagor. Here he was also successful. Thence he carried his arms south, and placed his garrison in Nadol, the capital of the province of Godwar. He married a daughter of the Parihar prince,¹ who had the

¹ He was of the Indha branch of the Parihars, and his daughter is called the Indhavatni.

satisfaction to see his grandson succeed to the throne of Mandor. Chonda was blessed with a progeny of fourteen sons, growing up to manhood around him. Their names were Ranmall,¹ Satta, Randhir, Aranyakanwal,² Punja, Bhim, Kana, Ajo, Ramdeo, Bija, Sahasmall, Bagh, Lumba, Seoraj.

Chonda had also one daughter named Hansa, married to Lakha Rana of Mewar [16], whose son was the celebrated Kumbha. It was this marriage which caused that interference in the affairs of Mewar, which had such fatal results to both States.³

The feud between his fourth son, Aranyakanwal, and the Bhatti prince of Pugal, being deemed singularly illustrative of the Rajput character, has been extracted from the annals of Jaisalmer, in another part of this work.⁴ The Rathor chronicler does not enter into details, but merely states the result, as ultimately involving the death of Chonda—simply that “he was slain at Nagor with one thousand Rajputs”; and it is to the chronicles of Jaisalmer we are indebted for our knowledge of the manner. Chonda acceded in S. 1438 (A.D. 1382), and was slain in S. 1465 [A.D. 1408-9].

Ranmall killed A.D. 1444.—Ranmall succeeded. His mother was of the Gohil tribe. In stature he was almost gigantic, and was the most athletic of all the athletes of his nation. With the death of Chonda, Nagor was again lost to the Rathors. Rana Lakha presented Ranmall with the township of Darla and forty villages upon his sister's marriage, when he almost resided at Chitor, and was considered by the Rana as the first of his chiefs. With the forces of Mewar added to his own, under pretence of conveying a daughter to the viceroy of Ajmer, he introduced his adherents into that renowned fortress, the ancient capital of the Chauhans, putting the garrison to the sword, and thus restored it to Mewar. Khemsi Pancholi, the adviser of this measure, was rewarded with a grant of the township of Kata, then lately captured from the Kaimkhanis.⁵ Ranmall went on a pilgrimage

¹ The descendants of those numbering 1, 2, 4, 7 still exist.

² This is the prince mentioned in the extraordinary feud related (p. 731) from the annals of Jaisalmer. Incidentally, we have frequent synchronisms in the annals of these States, which, however slight, are of high import.

³ See Vol. I. p. 323.

⁴ See p. 730.

⁵ [The Kāim or Qāimkhānis were originally Chauhāns, converted to

to Gaya, and paid the tax exacted for all the pilgrims then assembled.

The bard seldom intrudes the relation of civil affairs into his page, and when he does, it is incidentally. It would be folly to suppose that the princes of Maru had no legislative recorders; but with these the poet had no bond of union. He, however, condescends to inform us of an important measure of Rao Ranmall, namely, that he equalized the weights and measures throughout his dominions, which he divided as at present. The last act of Ranmall, in treacherously attempting to usurp the throne of the infant Rana of Mewar, was deservedly punished, and he was slain by the faithful Chonda, as related in the annals of that State.¹ This feud originated the line of demarcation of the two States,² and which remained [17] unaltered until recent times, when Marwar at length touched the Aravalli. Rao Ranmall left twenty-four sons, whose issue, and that of his eldest son, Jodha, form the great vassalage of Marwar. For this reason, however barren is a mere catalogue of names, it is of the utmost value to those who desire to see the growth of the frèrage of such a community.³

Names.	Clans.	Chieftainships or Fiefs.
1. Jodha (succeeded)	Jodha.	
2. Kandal . . .	{ Kandalot, conquered lands in . . . }	Bikaner.
3. Champa . . .	Champawat . . .	{ Awa, Kata, Palri, Har-sola, Rohat, Jawala, Satalana, Singari.
4. Akhairaj . . . had seven sons : 1st Kumpa . . .	{ Kumpawat . . . }	{ Asop, Kantalia, Chandawal, Siryari, Kharla, Harsor, Balu, Bajoria, Surpura, Dewaria.
5. Mandla . . .	Mandlot . . .	Sarunda.

Islām in the time of Fīroz Shāh. They are said to derive their name from the first famous convert. It is a rule with them not to use wooden planks in their doorways (*Census Report, Mārwar, 1891, ii. 37 f.; Rose, Glossary, iii. 257*).]

¹ See Vol. I. p. 327.

² See Vol. I. p. 328.

³ It is only by the possession of such knowledge that we can exercise with justice our right of

Names.	Clans.	Chieftainships or Fiefs.
6. Patta . . .	Pattawat	{ Kurnichari, Bara, and Desnokh. ¹
7. Lakha . . .	Lakhawat	
8. Bala . . .	Balawat .	Dunara.
9. Jethmall . . .	Jethmallot	Palasni.
10. Karna . . .	Karnot .	Lunawas.
11. Rupa . . .	Rupawat	Chutila.
12. Nathu . . .	Nathawat	Bikaner.
13. Dungra . . .	Dungrot .	} Estates not mentioned; their descendants have become dependent on the greater clanships.
14. Sanda . . .	Sandawat	
15. Manda . . .	Mandot	
16. Biru . . .	Biot	
17. Jagmall . . .	Jagmallot	
18. Hampa [18] . . .	Hampawat	
19. Sakta . . .	Saktawat	
20. Karimchand . . .	_____	
21. Arival . . .	Arivalot .	
22. Ketsi . . .	Ketsiot .	
23. Satrasal . . .	Satrasalot	
24. Tejmall . . .	Tejmallot	

CHAPTER 3

Jodha, A.D. 1444-88. The Foundation of Jodhpur.—Jodha was born at Dānla, the appanage of his father in Mewar, in the month Baisakh, S. 1484. In 1511 he obtained Sojat, and in the month Jeth, 1515 (A.D. 1459) laid the foundation of Jodhpur, to which he transferred the seat of government from Mandor. With the superstitious Rajput, as with the ancient Roman [19], every event being decided by the omen or the augur, it would be contrary to rule if so important an occasion as the change of capital, and that of an infant State, were not marked by some propitious prestige, that would justify the abandonment of a city won by the sword, and which had been for ages the capital of Maru. The intervention, in this instance, was of a simple

¹ Brave soldiers, but, safe in the deep sands, they refuse to serve except on emergencies.

nature ; neither the flight of birds, the lion's lair, or celestial manifestation ; but the ordinance of an anchorite, whose abode, apart from mankind, was a cleft of the mountains of Bakharchiriya. But the behests of such ascetics are secondary only to those of the divinity, whose organs they are deemed. Like the Druids of the Celts, the Vanaprastha Jogi,¹ from the glades of the forest (*vana*) or recess in the rocks (*gupha*), issue their oracles to those whom chance or design may conduct to their solitary dwellings. It is not surprising that the mandates of such beings prove compulsory on the superstitious Rajput : we do not mean those squalid ascetics, who wander about India, and are objects disgusting to the eye ; but the genuine Jogi, he who, as the term imports, mortifies the flesh, till the wants of humanity are restricted merely to what suffices to unite matter with spirit ; who has studied and comprehended the mystic works, and pored over the systems of philosophy, until the full influence of Maya (illusion) has perhaps unsettled his understanding ; or whom the rules of his sect have condemned to penance and solitude ; a penance so severe, that we remain astonished at the perversity of reason which can submit to it.² To these, the Druids of India, the prince and the chieftain would resort for instruction. They requested neither lands nor gold : to them " the boasted wealth of Bokhara " was as a particle of dust. Such was the ascetic who recommended Jodha to erect his castle on ' the Hill of Strife ' (Jodhagir), hitherto known as Bakharchiriya, or ' the bird's nest,' a projecting elevation of the same range on which

¹ [The Vanaprastha or anchorite stage (*āsrama*) of a Brāhman's life (Manu, *Laws*, vi. 1 ff.).]

² We have seen one of these objects, self-condemned never to lie down during forty years, and there remained but three to complete the term. He had travelled much, was intelligent and learned ; but far from having contracted the moroseness of the recluse, there was a benignity of mien, and a suavity and simplicity of manner in him, quite enchanting. He talked of his penance with no vainglory, and of its approaching term without any sensation. The resting position of this Druid (*vanaprastha*) was by means of a rope suspended from the bough of a tree, in the manner of a swing, having a cross-bar, on which he reclined. The first years of this penance, he says, were dreadfully painful ; swollen limbs affected him to that degree, that he expected death ; but this impression had long since worn off. ' Even in this, is there much vanity,' and it would be a nice point to determine whether the homage of man or the approbation of the Divinity most sustains the energies under such appalling discipline.

Mandor was placed, and about four miles south of it. Doubtless its inaccessible position seconded the recommendation of the hermit, for its scarped summit renders it almost impregnable [20], while its superior elevation permits the sons of Jodha to command, from the windows of their palace, a range of vision almost comprehending the limits of their sway. In clear weather they can view the summits of their southern barrier, the gigantic Aravalli; but in every other direction it fades away in the boundless expanse of sandy plains. Neither the founder, nor his monitor, the ascetic, however, were engineers, and they laid the foundation of this stronghold without considering what an indispensable adjunct to successful defence was good water; but to prevent any slur on the memory of Jodha, they throw the blame of this defect on the hermit. Jodha's engineer, in tracing the line of circumvallation, found it necessary to include the spot chosen as his hermitage, and his remonstrance for undisturbed possession was treated with neglect; whether by the prince as well as the chief architect, the legend says not. The incensed Jogi pronounced an imprecation, that the new castle should possess only brackish water, and all the efforts made by succeeding princes to obtain a better quality, by blasting the rock, have failed. The memory of the Jogi is sanctified, though his anger compelled them to construct an apparatus, whereby water for the supply of the garrison is elevated from a small lake at the foot of the rock, which, being entirely commanded from the walls, an assailant would find difficult to cut off. This was the third grand event in the fortunes of the Rathors, from the settlement of Siahji.¹

Such was the abundant progeny of these princes, that the limits of their conquests soon became too contracted. The issue of the three last princes, namely, the fourteen sons of Chonda, the twenty-four of Ranmall, and fourteen of Jodha, had already apportioned amongst them the best lands of the country, and it became necessary to conquer "fresh fields in which to sow the Rathor seed."

¹ Pali did not remain to Siahji's descendants, when they went westward and settled on the Luni: the Sesodias took it with other lands from the Parihar of Mandor. It was the feud already adverted to with Mewar which obtained for him the fertile districts of Pali and Sojat, by which his territories at length touched the Aravalli, and the fears of the assassin of Rana Kumbha made his parricidal son relinquish the provinces of Sambhar and Ajmer (see Vol. I. p. 339).

Jodha had fourteen sons, namely—

Names of Chiefs.	Clans.	Fiefs or Chieftainships.	Remarks.
1. Santal, or Satal }	—	Satalmer .	{ Three coss from Pokaran.
2. Suja (Suraj)	—	—	Succeeded Jodha.
3. Gama [21] .	—	—	No issue.
4. Duda . [Dhuhada]	Mertia .	Merta .	{ Duda took Sam- bhar from the Chauhans. He had one son, Biram, whose two sons Jai- mall and Jag- mall founded the clans Jaimallot and Jagmallot.
5. Birsingh .	Birsinghgot .	Nolai .	In Malwa.
6. Bika .	Bikayat .	Bikaner .	Independent State.
7. Baharmall .	Baharmallot .	Bai Bhilara .	—
8. Sheoraj .	Sheorajot .	Dunara .	On the Luni.
9. Karamsi .	Karamsot .	Khinwasar .	—
10. Raemall .	Raemallot .	—	—
11. Savantsi .	Savantsiot .	Dawara .	—
12. Bida .	Bidawat .	Bidavati .	In Nagor district.
13. Banhar .	—	—	{ Clans and fiefs not
14. Nimba .	—	—	{ mentioned.

Sāntal, Sātal, 1488-91.—The eldest son, Santal, born of a female of Bundi, established himself in the north-west corner, on the lands of the Bhattis, and built a fort, which he called Satalmer, about five miles from Pokaran.¹ He was killed in action by a Khan of the Sahariyas (the Saracens of the Indian desert), whom he also slew. His ashes were burnt at Kasma, and an altar was raised over them, where seven of his wives became satis.

The fourth son, Duda [or Dhūhada], established himself on the plains of Merta, and his clan, the Mertia, is numerous, and

¹ [Now in ruins, about 85 miles N.W. of Jodhpur city, containing a large Jain temple and monuments of the Chief's family.]

has always sustained the reputation of being the "first swords" of Maru. His daughter was the celebrated Mira Bai, wife of Rana Kumbha,¹ and he was the grandsire of the heroic Jaimall, who defended Chitor against Akbar, and whose descendant, Jeth Singh of Badnor, is still one of the sixteen chief vassals of the Udaipur court.

The sixth son, Bika, followed the path already trod by his uncle Kandal, with whom he united, and conquered the tracts possessed by the six Jat communities. He erected a city, which he called after himself, Bikaner, or Bikaner.

Death of Rāo Jodha, A.D. 1488.—Jodha outlived the foundation of his new capital thirty years, and beheld his [22] sons and grandsons rapidly peopling and subjugating the regions of Maru. In S. 1545, aged sixty-one, he departed this life, and his ashes were housed with those of his fathers, in the ancestral abode of Mandor. This prince, the second founder of his race in these regions, was mainly indebted to the adversities of early life for the prosperity his later years enjoyed; they led him to the discovery of worth in the more ancient, but neglected, allodial proprietors displaced by his ancestors, and driven into the least accessible regions of the desert. It was by their aid he was enabled to redeem Mandor, when expelled by the Gulilots, and he nobly preserved the remembrance thereof in the day of his prosperity. The warriors whose forms are sculptured from the living rock at Mandor owe the perpetuity of their fame to the gratitude of Jodha; through them he not only recovered, but enlarged his dominions.² In less than three centuries after their migration from Kanauj, the Rathors, the issue of Siahji, spread over a surface of four degrees of longitude and the same extent of latitude, or nearly 80,000 miles square, and they amount at this day, in spite of the havoc occasioned, by perpetual wars and famine, to 500,000 souls.³ While we thus contemplate the renovation of the Rathor race, from a single scion of that magnificent tree, whose branches once overshadowed the plains of Ganga, let us withdraw from oblivion some of the many noble names they displaced, which now live only in the poet's page. Well may the Rajput repeat the ever-recurring simile, "All is unstable;

¹ See Vol. I. p. 337.

² See p. 842.

³ [The present area of Mārwar is 34,963 square miles; population 2,057,776, of which Rājputs form 27·9 per cent.]

life is like the scintillation of the fire-fly ; house and land will depart, but a good name will last for ever ! ” What a list of noble tribes could we enumerate now erased from independent existence by the successes of ‘ the children of Siva ’ (*Siva-putra*) !¹ Pariharas, Indhas, Sankhlas, Chauhans, Gohils, Dabhis, Sandhals, Mohils, Sonigiras, Kathis, Jats, Huls, etc., and the few who still exist only as retainers of the Rathor.

Sūja or Surajmall, A.D. 1491–1516.—Suja² (Surajmall) succeeded, and occupied the *gaddi* of Jodha during twenty-seven years, and had at least the merit of adding to the stock of Siahji.

The Rape of the Virgins.—The contentions for empire, during the vacillating dynasty of the Lodi kings of Delhi, preserved the sterile lands of Maru from their cupidity ; and a second dynasty, the Shersshahi, intervened ere “ the sons of Jodha ” were summoned to measure swords with the Imperialists. But in S. 1572 (A.D. 1516), a desultory [23] band of Pathans made an incursion during the fair of the Tij,³ held at the town of Pipar, and carried off one hundred and forty of the maidens of Maru. The tidings of the rape of the virgin Rajputnis were conveyed to Suja, who put himself at the head of such vassals as were in attendance, and pursued, overtook, and redeemed them, with the loss of his own life, but not without a full measure of vengeance against the “ northern barbarian.” The subject is one chosen by the itinerant minstrel of Maru, who, at the fair of the Tij, still sings the rape of the one hundred and forty virgins of Pipar, and their rescue by their cavalier prince at the price of his own blood.

Suja had five sons, namely : 1. Bhaga, who died in non-age : his son Ganga succeeded to the throne. 2. Uda, who had eleven sons : they formed the clan Udawat, whose chief fiefs are Nimaj, Jaitaran, Gundoj, Baratia, Raepur, etc., besides places in Mewar. 3. Saga, from whom descended the clan Sagawat ; located at Barwa. 4. Prayag, who originated the Prayaggot clan. 5. Biramdeo, whose son, Naru, receives divine honours as the Putra of Maru, and whose statue is worshipped at Sojat. His descendants

¹ Siahji is the Bhakha for Siva ;—the *ji* is merely an adjunct of respect.

² One of the chronicles makes Satal occupy the *gaddi* after Jodha, during three years ; but this appears a mistake—he was killed in defending Satalmer.

³ For a description of this festival see p. 675.

are styled Narawat Jodha, of whom a branch is established at Pachpahar, in Harāoti.

Rāo Ganga, A.D. 1516–32.—Ganga, grandson of Suja, succeeded his grandfather in S. 1572 (A.D. 1516); but his uncle, Saga, determined to contest his right to the *gaddi*, invited the aid of Daulat Khan Lodi, who had recently expelled the Rathors from Nagor. With this auxiliary a civil strife commenced, and the sons of Jodha were marshalled against each other. Ganga, confiding in the rectitude of his cause, and reckoning upon the support of the best swords of Maru, spurned the offer of compromise made by the Pathan, of a partition of its lands between the claimants, and gave battle, in which his uncle Saga was slain, and his auxiliary, Daulat Khan, ignominiously defeated.

Rāthors join Mewār against Bābur, A.D. 1527.—Twelve years after the accession of Ganga, the sons of Jodha were called on to unite their forces to Mewar to oppose the invasion of the Moguls from Turkistan. Sanga Rana, who had resumed the station of his ancestors amongst the princes of Hind, led the war, and the king of Maru deemed it no degradation to acknowledge his supremacy, and send his quotas to fight under the standard of Mewar, whose chronicles do more justice to the Rathors than those of their own bards. This, which was the last confederation made by the Rajputs for national independence [24], was defeated, as already related, in the fatal field of Bayana, where, had treachery not aided the intrepid Babur, the Rathor sword would have had its full share in rescuing the nation from the Muhammadan yoke. It is sufficient to state that a Rathor was in the battle, to know that he would bear its brunt; and although we are ignorant of the actual position of the Rana, we may assume that their post was in the van. The young prince Raemall (grandson of Ganga), with the Mertia chieftains Kharto and Ratna, and many others of note, fell against the Chagatai on this eventful day.

Ganga died¹ four years after this event, and was succeeded by

Rāo Māldeo, A.D. 1532–62, or 1568–69.—Maldeo in S. 1588 (A.D. 1532),² a name as distinguished as any of the noble princes

¹ The Yati's roll says Ganga was poisoned; but this is not confirmed by any other authority.

² [The dates are doubtful. See the legend of the marriage of Rāo Māldeo to Uma, daughter of the Bhatti Chief of Jaisalmer (*I.A.*, iii. 96 ff.).]

in the chronicles of Maru. The position of Marwar at this period was eminently excellent for the increase and consolidation of its resources. The emperor Babur found no temptation in her sterile lands to divert him from the rich plains of the Ganges, where he had abundant occupation ; and the districts and strongholds on the emperor's frontier of Maru, still held by the officers of the preceding dynasty, were rapidly acquired by Maldeo, who planted his garrisons in the very heart of Dhundhar. The death of Sanga Rana, and the misfortunes of the house of Mewar, cursed with a succession of minor princes, and at once beset by the Moguls from the north, and the kings of Gujarat, left Maldeo to the uncontrolled exercise of his power, which, like a true Rajput, he employed against friend and foe, and became beyond a doubt the first prince of Rajwara, or, in fact, as styled by the Muhammadan historian Ferishta, "the most potent prince in Hindustan."¹

The year of Maldeo's installation he redeemed the two most important possessions of his house, Nagor and Ajmer. In S. 1596 he captured Jalor, Siwana, and Bhadravan from the Sandhals ; and two years later dispossessed the sons of Bika of supreme power in Bikaner. Mewa, and the tracts on the Luni, the earliest possessions of his house, which had thrown off all dependence, he once more subjugated, and compelled the ancient allodial tenantry to hold of him in chief, and serve with their quotas. He engaged in war with the Bhattis, and conquered Bikampur, where a branch of his family remained, and are now incorporated with the Jaisalmer State, and, under the name of Maldots,² have the credit of being the most daring robbers of the desert. He even established branches of [25] his family in Mewar and Dhundhar, took, and fortified Chatsu, not twenty miles south of the capital of the Kachhwahas. He captured and restored Sirohi from the Deoras, from which house was his mother. But Maldeo not only acquired, but determined to retain, his conquests, and erected numerous fortifications throughout the country. He enclosed the city of Jodhpur with a strong wall, besides erecting a palace, and adding other works to the fortress. The circumvallations of Merta and its fort, which he called Malkot, cost him £24,000.

¹ ["The most powerful of the Hindu princes who still retained their independence," trans. Briggs, ii. 121.]

² Mr. Elphinstone apprehended an attack from the Maldots on his way to Kabul.

He dismantled Satalmer, and with the materials fortified Pokaran, which he took from the Bhattis, transplanting the entire population, which comprehended the richest merchants of Rajasthan. He erected forts at Bhadrajan, on the hill of Bhimlod, near Siwana, at Gundoj, at Rian, Pipar, and Dunara. He made the Kundalkot at Siwana, and greatly added to that of Phalodi, first made by Hamira Nirawat. He also erected that bastion in Garh Bitli (the citadel of Ajmer) called the Kotburj, and showed his skill in hydraulics by the construction of a wheel to bring water into the fort. The chronicler adds, that "by the wealth of Sambhar," meaning the resources of this salt lake, he was enabled to accomplish these works, and furnishes a list of the possessions of Jodhpur at this period, which we cannot exclude: Sojat, Sambhar, Merta, Khata, Badnor, Ladnun, Raepur, Bhadrajan, Nagor, Siwana, Lohagarh, Jaikargarh, Bikaner, Bhinmal, Pokaran, Barmer, Kasoli, Riwaso, Jajawar, Jalor, Baoli, Malar, Nadol, Phalodi, Sanchor, Didwana, Chatsu, Lawen, Malarna, Deora, Fatehpur, Amarsar, Khawar, Baniapur, Tonk, Toda, Ajmer, Jahazpur, and Pramarka-Udaipur (in Shaikhavati); in all thirty-eight districts, several of which, as Jalor, Ajmer, Tonk, Toda, and Badnor, comprehended each three hundred and sixty townships, and there were none which did not number eighty. But of those enumerated in Dhundhar, as Chatsu, Lawen, Tonk, Toda, and Jahazpur in Mewar, the possession was but transient; and although Badnor, and its three hundred and sixty townships, were peopled by Rathors, they were the descendants of the Mertias under Jaimall, who became one of the great vassals of Mewar, and would, in its defence, at all times draw their swords against the land which gave them birth.¹ This branch of the house of Jodha had for some time been too powerful [26] for subjects, and Merta was resumed. To this act Mewar was indebted for the services of this heroic chief. At the same time the growing power of others of the great vassalage of Marwar was checked by resumptions, when Jaitaran from the Udawats, and several other fiefs, were added to the fise. The feudal allotments had never been regulated, but went on increasing with the energies of the State, and the progeny of its princes, each having on his birth an appanage assigned to him, until the whole

¹ Such is the Rajput's notion of *swamidharma*, or "fidelity to him whose salt they eat," their immediate lord, even against their king.

land of Maru was split into innumerable portions. Maldeo saw the necessity for checking this subdivision, and he created a gradation of ranks, and established its perpetuity in certain branches of the sons of Ranmall and Jodha, which has never been altered.

Inhospitable Conduct of Rāo Māldeo to Humāyūn, A.D. 1542.—Ten years of undisturbed possession were granted Maldeo to perfect his designs, ere his cares were diverted from these to his own defence. Babur, the founder of the Mogul dynasty, was dead, and his son and successor had been driven from his newly conquered throne by his provincial lieutenant, Sher Shah : so rapidly do revolutions crowd upon each other where the sword is the universal arbitrator. We have elsewhere related that the fugitive monarch sought the protection of Maldeo, and we stigmatized his conduct as unnational ; but we omitted to state that Maldeo, then heir-apparent, lost his eldest, perhaps then only son Raemall in the battle of Bayana, who led the aid of Marwar on that memorable day, and consequently the name of Chagatai, whether in fortune or in flight, had no great claims to his regard. But little did Maldeo dream how closely the fortunes of his house would be linked with those of the fugitive Humayun, and that the infant Akbar, born in this emergency, was destined to revenge this breach of hospitality. Still less could the proud Rathor, who traced his ancestry on the throne of Kanauj one thousand years before the birth of the “ barbarian ” of Ferghana, deem it within the range of probability, that he should receive honours at such hands, or that the first title of Raja, Rajeswar, or ‘ raja, lord of rajas,’ would be conferred on his own son by this infant, then rearing amidst the sandhills at the extremity of his desert dominion ! It is curious to indulge in the speculative inquiry, whether, when the great Akbar girded Udai Singh with the sword of honour, and marked his forehead with the unguent of Raja-shah, he brought to mind the conduct of Maldeo, which doomed his birth to take place in the dismal castle of Umarkot, instead of in the splendid halls of Delhi [27].

Attack on Mārwar by Sher Shāh, A.D. 1544.—Maldeo derived no advantage from his inhospitality ; for whether the usurper deemed his exertions insufficient to secure the royal fugitive, or felt his own power insecure with so potent a neighbour, he led an army of eighty thousand men into Marwar. Maldeo allowed them to advance, and formed an army of fifty thousand Rajputs

to oppose him. The judgment and caution he exercised were so great, that Sher Shah, well versed in the art of war, was obliged to fortify his camp at every step. Instead of an easy conquest, he soon repented of his rashness when the admirable dispositions of the Rajputs made him dread an action, and from a position whence he found it impossible to retreat. For a month the armies lay in sight of each other, every day the king's situation becoming more critical, and from which he saw not the slightest chance of extrication. In this exigence he had recourse to one of those stratagems which have often operated successfully on the Rajput, by sowing distrust in his mind as to the fidelity of his vassals. He penned a letter, as if in correspondence with them, which he contrived to have dropped, as by accident, by a messenger sent to negotiate. Perhaps the severity of the resumptions of estates seconded this scheme of Sher Shah; for when the stipulated period for the attack had arrived, the raja countermanded it. The reasons for this conduct, when success was apparent, were soon propagated; when one or two of the great leaders, in order to demonstrate their groundlessness, gave an instance of that devotion with which the annals of these States abound. At the head of twelve thousand, they attacked and forced the imperial entrenched camp, carrying destruction even to the quarters of the emperor; but multitudes prevailed, and the patriotic clans were almost annihilated. Maldeo, when too late, saw through the stratagem which had made him doubt the loyalty of his vassals. Superstition and the reproaches of his chieftains for his unworthy suspicions, did the rest; and this first *levée en masse* of the descendants of Siahji, arrayed in defence of their national liberties, was defeated. With justice did the usurper pay homage to their gallantry, when he exclaimed, on his deliverance from this peril, "he had nearly lost the empire of Hindustan for a handful of barley."¹

Attack by Akbar, A.D. 1558-62.—Maldeo was destined to outlive the Shershahi dynasty, and to see the imperial crown of India once more encircle the brows of the fugitive Humayun.² It had

¹ In allusion to the poverty of the soil, as unfitted to produce richer grains [Ferishta ii. 123; see pp. 835, 931 above].

² There is a biographical account of this monarch, during his exile in Persia, written by his Abdar, or 'cup-bearer,' in the library of Major W. Yule, of Edinburgh, and which, when translated, will complete the series

[28] been well for the Rathors had his years been lengthened ; for his mild disposition and natural indolence of character gave them some chance that these qualities would be their best advocate. But he did not long survive the restoration. Whether the mother of his successor, prince Akbar, not yet fifteen, stimulated by the recollection of her misfortunes, nursed his young animosity against Maldeo for the miseries of Umarkot, or, whether it was merely an act of cautionary policy to curb the Rajput power, which was inconsistent with his own, in S. 1617 (A.D. 1561) he invaded Marwar, and laid siege to Malakot or Merta, which he took after an obstinate and sanguinary defence, part of the garrison cutting their way through his host, and making good their retreat to their prince.¹ The important castle of Nagor was also captured ; and both these strongholds and their lands were conferred by Akbar on the younger branch of the family, Rae Singh, prince of Bikaner, now established in independence of the parent State, Jodhpur.

In 1625 (A.D. 1569), Maldeo succumbed to necessity ; and in conformity with the times, sent his second son, Chandarsen,² with gifts to Akbar, then at Ajmer, which had become an integral part of the monarchy ; but Akbar was so dissatisfied with the disdainful bearing of the desert king, who refused personally to pay his court, that he not only guaranteed the free possession of Bikaner to Rae Singh, but presented him with the farman for Jodhpur itself, with supremacy over his race. Chandarsen appears to have possessed all the native pride of the Rathor, and to have been prepared to contest his country's independence, in spite of Akbar and the claims of his elder brother, Udai Singh, who eventually was more supple in ingratiating himself into the monarch's favour. At the close of life the old Rao had to stand a siege in his capital, and after a brave but fruitless resistance,³ was obliged to yield homage, and pay it in the person of his son

of biography of the members of the house of Timur. [*The Tazkirātu-l-wāki'āt* of Jauhar, extracts from which are translated in Elliot-Dowson v. 136 ff.]

¹ [The capture of Merta in 1562 by Sharafu-din Husain Mirza is described in *Akbarnāma*, trans. H. Beveridge, ii. 247 f. ; Smith, *Akbar*, 59.]

² [The statement that Chandarsen was second son of Māldeo rests on the Author's account, and is not mentioned in the *Akbarnāma*.]

³ [For the capture of Jodhpur, "the strongest fort in that country," by Husain Kuli Khān see *Akbarnāma*, ii. 305.]

Udai Singh, who, attending with a contingent, was enrolled amongst the commanders of 'one thousand'; and shortly after was invested with the title of Mota Raja, or 'the fat Raja,' by which epithet alone he is designated in the annals of that period.¹

Chandarsen, with a considerable number of the brave vassals of Maru, determined to cling to independence and the rude fare of the desert, rather than servilely follow in the train of the despot. When driven from Jodhpur, they took post in Siwana, in the western extremity of the State, and there held out to the death. For seventeen years he maintained his title to the *gaddi*, and divided the allegiance of [29] the Rathors with his elder brother Udai Singh (though supported by the king), and stood the storm in which he nobly fell, leaving three sons, Ugarsen, Askaran, and Rao Singh, who fought a duel with Rao Surthan, of Sirohi, and was slain, with twenty-four of his chiefs,² near the town of Datani.

Maldeo, though he submitted to acknowledge the supremacy of the emperor, was at least spared the degradation of seeing a daughter of his blood bestowed upon the opponent of his faith; he died soon after the title was conferred on his son, which sealed the dependence of Maru. His latter days were a dismal contrast to those which witnessed his conquests in almost every part of Rajputana, but he departed from this world in time to preserve his own honour untarnished, with the character of the most valiant and energetic Rajput of his time. Could he have added to his years and maintained their ancient vigour, he might, by a junction with Parlap of Mewar, who single-handed commenced his career just as Maldeo's closed, have maintained Rajput independence against the rising power of the Moguls.³

Maldeo, who died S. 1625 (A.D. 1569), had twelve sons :

1. Ram Singh, who was banished, and found refuge with the Rana of Mewar; he had seven sons, the fifth of whom, Keshodas, fixed at Chuli Maheshwar.
2. Raemall, who was killed in the battle of Bayana.

¹ [See *Āīn*, i. 429 f. Erskine (iii. A. 587) suggests that Mota means 'good, potent'.]

² It was fought with a certain number on each side, Rathors against Deoras, a branch of the Chauhans, the two bravest of all the Rajput races. It reminds us of some of the duels related by Froissart.

³ See Vol. 1. 385 ff.

3. Udai Singh, Raja of Marwar.
 4. Chandarsen, by a wife of the Jhala tribe ; had three sons, the eldest, Ugarsen, got Binai ; he had three sons, Karan, Kanji, and Kahan.
 5. Askaran ; descendants at Junia.
 6. Gopaldas ; killed at Idar.
 7. Prithiraj ; descendants at Jalor.
 8. Ratansi ; descendants at Bhadrarajun.
 9. Bheraj ; descendants at Ahari.
 10. Bikramajit
 11. Bhan
 12. ———
- } No notice of them [30].

CHAPTER 4

Vassalage of Mār wār to the Mughals.—The death of Maldeo formed an important epoch in the annals of the Rathors. Up to this period the will had waited upon the wish of the gallant descendants of Siva ; but now the vassals of Maru acknowledged one mightier than they. The banner of the empire floated pre-eminent over the *panchranga*, the five-coloured flag, which had led the Rathors from victory to victory, and waved from the sandhills of Umarkot to the salt-lake of Sambhar ; from the desert bordering the Gara to the peaks of the Aravalli. Henceforward, the Rathor princes had, by their actions or subservience, to ascend by degrees the steps to royal favour. They were required to maintain a contingent of their proud vassals, headed by the heir, to serve at the Mogul's pleasure. Their deeds won them, not ignobly, the grace of the imperial court ; but had slavish submission been the sole path to elevation, the Rathor princes would never have attained a grade beyond the first mansab,¹ conferred on Udai Singh. Yet though streams of wealth enriched the barren plains of Maru ; although a portion of the spoils of Golkonda and Bijapur augmented its treasures, decorated its palaces, and embellished its edifices and mausoleums ; although the desert kings took the 'right hand' of all the feudality of

¹ [Rank, prescribing precedence and gradation of pay (Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, 3 ff.).]

Hind, whether indigenous or foreign—a feudal assemblage of no less than seventy-six petty kingdoms—yet the Rathor felt the sense of his now degraded condition, and it often burst forth even in the presence of the suzerain.

Rāo Udai Singh, A.D. 1581-95.—Maldeo's death occurred in S. 1625 ;¹ but the chronicles do not admit of Udai [31] Singh's elevation until the death of his brother Chandarsen, from which period we may reckon that he was, though junior, the choice both of his father and the nobles, who did not approve of Udai Singh's submission to Akbar. In fact, the Raja led the royal forces against the most powerful of his vassals, and resumed almost all the possessions of the Mertias, and weakened the others.

Before we proceed to trace the course pursued by Udai Singh, who was seated upon the cushion of Maldeo in S. 1640 (A.D. 1584), let us cast a short retrospect over the annals of Maru, since the migration of the grandson of the potentate of Kanauj, which, compared with the ample page of western history, present little more than a chronicle of hard names, though not destitute of facts interesting to political science.

Retrospect of Mār wār History.—In the table before the reader, aided by the explanations in the text, he will see the whole process of the conquest, peopling, and settlement of an extensive region, with its partition or allotments amongst an innumerable frērage (*bhāyyad*), whose children continue to hold them as vassals of their king and brother, the descendant of their mutual ancestor Siahji.

We may divide the annals of Marwar, from the migration of Siahji from Kanauj to the accession of Udai Singh, into three distinct epochs :

1. From the settlement of Siahji in the land of Kher, in A.D. 1212, to the conquest of Mandor by Chonda, in A.D. 1381.

2. From the conquest of Mandor to the founding of Jodhpur, in A.D. 1459 ; and

3. From the founding of Jodhpur to the accession of Udai Singh in A.D. 1584, when the Rathors acknowledged the supremacy of the empire.

The two first epochs were occupied in the subjugation of the western portion of the desert from the ancient allodality ; nor

¹ [The dates are uncertain ; those in the margin follow Erskine (iii. B. 25).]

was it until Chonda conquered Mandor, on the decline of the Chauhans of the east, that the fertile lands on either side of the Luni were formed into fiefs for the children of Ranmall and Jodha. A change of capital with the Rajput is always productive of change in the internal organisation of the State; and not unfrequently the race changes its appellation with its capital. The foundation of Jodhpur was a new era, and henceforth the throne of Maru could only be occupied by the tribe of Jodha, and from branches not constituting the vassals of the crown, who were cut off from succession. This is a peculiar [32] feature in Rajput policy, and is common to the whole race, as will be hereafter more distinctly pointed out in the annals of Ajmer.

Feudalism in Mār-wār.—Jodha, with all the ambition of the founder of a State, gave a new form to the feudal institutions of his country. Necessity, combined with pride, led him to promulgate a statute of limitation of the sub-infeudations of Maru. The immense progeny of his father Ranmall, twenty-four sons, and his own, of fourteen, almost all of whom had numerous issue, rendered it requisite to fix the number and extent of the fiefs; and amongst them, henceforward constituting permanently the frèrage of Maru, the lands were partitioned, Kandhal having emigrated and established his own numerous issue, the Kandhalots, in Bikaner. The two brothers next to Jodha, namely, Champa and Kumpa, with his two sons, Duda and Karamsi, and his grandson, Uda, were declared the heads of the feudal association under their names, the Champawats, Kumpawats, Mertias (sons of Duda), Karamsots, and Udawats, and continue to be “the pillars of Maru.” Eight great estates, called the *ath thakurat*, or ‘eight lordships’ of Marwar, each of the nominal annual value of fifty thousand rupees (£5000), were settled on these persons, and their immense influence has obtained many others for younger branches of their clans. The title of the first noble of Maru was given to Champa and his issue, who have often made its princes tremble on their thrones. Besides these, inferior appanages were settled on the junior branches, brothers, sons, and grandsons of Jodha, which were also deemed hereditary and irresumable; to use their own phrase, their *bat*,¹ or ‘allotment,’ to which they consider their title as sacred as that of their prince

¹ From *batna*, ‘to divide, to partition.’

to his throne, of whom they say, "When our services are acceptable, then is he our lord; when not, we are again his brothers and kin, claimants, and laying claim to the land."¹

Rao Maldeo confirmed this division of Jodha, though he increased the secondary fiefs, and as the boundaries of Marwar were completed in his reign, it was essentially necessary to confirm the limitation. The feudal States of Marwar are, therefore, perpetuated in the offspring of the princes from Jodha to Maldeo, and a distinction exists between them and those subsequently conferred; the first, being [33] obtained by conquest, are deemed irrevocable, and must be perpetuated by adoption on the failure of lineal issue; whereas the other may, on lapses, be resumed and added to the fise whence it emanated. The fiscal domain of the Rajput princes cannot, says their traditionary lore, be alienated for more than a life-interest; but this wise rule, though visible in anecdotes of past days, has been infringed with their general disorganization. These instances, it may be asserted, afford the distinctions of allodial and feudal lands. Of the numerous clans, the issue of Siahji to Jodha, which are spread over the northern and western parts of the State, some, partly from the difficulty of their position, partly from a feeling of respect to their remote ancestry, enjoy almost entire independence. Yet they recognize the prince of Maru as their liege lord when his crown is endangered, and render homage on his accession or any great family event. These clans hold without grant or fine, and may properly be called the allodial chieftains. Of this number we may enumerate the lordships of Barmer, Kotra, Sheo, Phulsund, etc. Others there are who, though less independent, may also be styled the allodality of Marwar, who are to furnish their quotas when demanded, and perform personal homage on all great days of rejoicing; of these are Mewa, Sindari, etc. The ancient clans scattered over the land, or serving the more modern chieftains, are recognized by their patronymic distinctions, by those versed in the chronicles; though many hear the names of Duharka, Mangalia, Uhar, and Dhandal, without knowing them to be Rathor. The mystic page of the bard is always consulted previous to any marriage, in order to prevent a violation of the matrimonial canons of the Rajputs, which are stricter than the Mosaic, and this keeps up the know-

¹ See the remonstrance of the vassal descendants of these chiefs, expelled their patrimony by their prince, to the English enemy, Vol. I. p. 230.

ledge of the various branches of their own and other races, which would otherwise perish

Whatever term may be applied to these institutions of a martial race, and which for the sake of being more readily understood we have elsewhere called, and shall continue to designate, "feudal," we have not a shadow of doubt that they were common to the Rajput races from the remotest ages, and that Siahji conveyed them from the seat of his ancestors, Kanauj. A finer picture does not exist of the splendour of a feudal array than the camp of its last monarch, Jaichand, in the contest with the Chauhan. The annals of each and every State bear evidence to a system strictly parallel to that of Europe; more especially Mewar, where, thirteen hundred years ago, we see the entire feudatories of the State throwing up their grants, giving their liege lord defiance, and threatening him with their [34] vengeance. Yet, having "eaten his salt," they forbore to proceed to hostilities till a whole year had elapsed, at the expiration of which they deposed him.¹ Akbar, who was partial to Hindu institutions, borrowed much from them, in all that concerned his own regulations.

In contrasting these customs with analogous ones in the West, the reader should never lose sight of one point, which must influence the analogy, namely, the patriarchal form which characterizes the feudal system in all countries; and as, amongst the Rajputs, all their vassalage is of their own kin and blood (save a slight mixture of foreign nobles as a counterpoise), the paternity of the sovereign is no fiction, as in Europe; so that from the son of Champa, who takes the right hand of his prince, to the meanest vassal, who serves merely for his *peti*² (rations), all are linked by the tie of consanguinity, of which it is difficult to say whether it is most productive of evil or good, since it has afforded examples as brilliant and as dark as any in the history of mankind. The devotion which made twelve thousand, out of the fifty thousand, "sons of Jodha" prove their fidelity to Maldeo has often been emulated even to the present day.

The chronicles, as before stated, are at variance with regard to the accession of Udai Singh: some date it from the death of Maldeo, in S. 1625 (A.D. 1569); others from that of his elder brother Chandarsen, slain in the storm of Siwana. The name of

¹ See Vol. I. p. 266.

² Literally, 'a bellyful.'

Udai appears one of evil portent in the annals of Rajasthan.¹ While "Udai, the fat," was inhaling the breeze of imperial power, which spread a haze of prosperity over Maru, Partap of Mewar, the idol of the Rajputs, was enduring every hardship in the attempt to work out his country's independence, which had been sacrificed by his father, Udai Singh. In this he failed, but he left a name hallowed in the hearts of his countrymen, and immortalized in the imperishable verse of the bard.

On the union of the imperial house with that of Jodhpur, by the marriage of Jodh Bai to Akbar,² the emperor not only restored all the possessions he had wrested from Marwar, with the exception of Ajmer, but several rich districts in Malwa, whose revenues doubled the resources of his own fiscal domain. With the aid of his imperial brother-in-law, he greatly diminished the power of the feudal aristocracy [35], and clipped the wings of almost all the greater vassals, while he made numerous sequestrations of the lands of the ancient allodality and lesser vassals; so that it is stated, that, either by new settlement or confiscation, he added fourteen hundred villages to the fisc. He resumed almost all the lands of the sons of Duda, who, from their abode, were termed Mertia; took Jaitaran from the Udawats, and other towns of less note from the sons of Champa and Kumpa.

Udai Singh was not ungrateful for the favours heaped upon him by the emperor, for whom his Rathors performed many signal services: for the raja was latterly too unwieldy for any steed to bear him to battle. The "king of the Desert" (the familiar epithet applied to him by Akbar) had a numerous progeny; no less than thirty-four legitimate sons and daughters, who added new clans and new estates to the feudal association of Maru: of these the most conspicuous are Govindgarh and Pisangan; while some obtained settlements beyond its limits which became independent and bear the name of the founders. Of these are Kishangarh and Ratlam in Malwa.

Death of Rāo Udai Singh.—Udai Singh died thirteen years after his inauguration on the cushion of Jodha, and thirty-three

¹ Instead of being, as it imports, the 'ascending,' (Skt. *udaya*), it should for ever, in both the houses of Maru and Mewar, signify 'setting'; the pusillanimity of the one sunk Mewar, that of the other Marwar.

² [There has been some controversy about Jodh Bāi, but it is clear that she was wife of Jahāngīr, not of Akbar (*Āīn*, i. 619).]

after the death of Maldeo. The manner of his death, as related in the biographical sketches termed Khyat, affords such a specimen of superstition and of Rajpūt manners that it would be improper to omit it. The narrative is preceded by some reflections on the moral education of the Rathor princes, and the wise restraints imposed upon them under the vigilant control of chiefs of approved worth and fidelity ; so that, to use the words of the text, " they often passed their twentieth year, ignorant of woman." If the " fat raja " had ever known this moral restraint, in his riper years he forgot it ; for although he had no less than twenty-seven queens, he cast the eye of desire on the virgin-daughter of a subject, and that subject a Brahman.

Brāhman sacrifices his Daughter.—It was on the raja's return from court to his native land that he beheld the damsel, and he determined, notwithstanding the sacred character of her father and his own obligations as the dispenser of law and justice, to enjoy the object of his admiration. The Brahman was an Ayapanthi,¹ or votary of Ayamata, whose shrine is at Bhavi-Bhilara. These sectarians of Maru, very different from the abstinent Brahmans of Bengal, eat flesh, drink wine, and share in all the common enjoyments of life with the martial spirits around them. Whether the scruples of the [30] daughter were likely to be easily overcome by her royal tempter, or whether the raja threatened force, the Khyat does not inform us ; but as there was no other course by which the father could save her from pollution but by her death, he resolved to make it one of vengeance and horror. He dug a sacrificial pit, and having slain his daughter, cut her into fragments, and mingling therewith pieces of flesh from his own person, made the Homa, or burnt sacrifice to Ayamata, and as the smoke and flames ascended he pronounced an imprecation on the raja : " Let peace be a stranger to him ! and in three pahars,² three days, and three years, let me have revenge ! " Then exclaiming, " My future dwelling is the Dabhi Baori ! " sprung into the flaming pit. The horrid tale was related to the raja, whose imagination was haunted by the shade of the Brahman ;

¹ [This is one of the Jogi orders (Rose, *Glossary*, ii. 9). The Author (*Western India*, 136) says that Ayāmāta is tutelary goddess of the Koli tribe. One branch of the Lohānas specially worship her (*Census Report, Mārwar*, 1891, ii. 130).]

² A pahar is a watch of the day, about three hours.

and he expired at the assigned period, a prey to unceasing remorse.

Superstition is sometimes made available for moral ends; and the shade of the Ayapanthi Brahman of Bhilara has been evoked, in subsequent ages, to restrain and lead unto virtue libidinous princes, when all other control has been unavailing. The celebrated Jaswant Singh, the great-grandson of Udai, had an amour with the daughter of one of his civil officers, and which he carried on at the Dabhi Baori.¹ But the avenging ghost of the Brahman interposed between him and his wishes. A dreadful struggle ensued, in which Jaswant lost his senses, and no effort could banish the impression from his mind. The ghost persecuted his fancy, and he was generally believed to be possessed with a wicked spirit, which, when exorcised, was made to say he would only depart on the self-sacrifice of a chief equal in dignity to Jaswant. Nahar Khan, "the tiger lord," chief of the Kumpawat clan, who led the van in all his battles, immediately offered his head in expiation for his prince; and he had no sooner expressed this loyal determination, than the holy men who exorcised the spirit caused it to descend into a vessel of water, and having waved it thrice round his head, they presented it to Nahar Khan, who drank it off, and Jaswant's senses were instantly restored. This miraculous transfer of the ghost is implicitly believed by every chief of Rajasthan, by whom Nahar was called "the faithful of the faithful." Previous to dying, he called his son, and imposed on him and his descendants, by the solemnity of an oath, the abjuration of the office of Pardhan, or hereditary premier of Marwar, whose dignity involved such a sacrifice [37]; and from that day the Champawats of Awa succeeded the Kumpawats of Asop, who renounced the first seat on the right for that on the left of their princes.

We shall conclude the reign of Udai Singh with the register of his issue from "the Book of Kings." It is by no means an unimportant document to such as are interested in these singular communities, and essentially useful to those who are called upon

¹ A reservoir excavated by one of the Dabhi tribe. [This is a mistake. The proper name is Tāpi Bāori or 'pit of fire' (*Census Report, Mārwar*, 1891, ii. 65). For similar ghost stories see Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India*, i. 193 ff. The original name of Nāhar Khān, before his conversion to Islām, was Mukunddās.]

to interfere in their national concerns. Here we see the affinities of the branch (*sakha*) to the parent tree, which in one short century has shaded the whole land ; and to which the independents of Kishangarh, Rupnagarh, and Ratlam, as well as the feudal chiefs of Govindgarh, Khairwa, and Pisangan, all issues from Udai Singh, look for protection.

Issue of Raja Udai Singh :—

1. Sur Singh, succeeded.
 2. Akhairaj.
 3. Bhagwandas ; had issue Bala, Gopaldas, Govinddas, who founded Govindgarh.
 4. Narardas
 5. Sakat Singh
 6. Bhopat
- } had no issue attaining eminence.
7. Dalpat had four sons : 1. Maheshdas, whose son, Ratna, founded Ratlam ;¹ 2. Jaswant Singh ; 3. Partap Singh ; 4. Kaniram.
 8. Jeth had four sons : 1. Har Singh ; 2. Amra ; 3. Kaniram ; 4. Premraj, whose descendants held lands in the tract called Balati and Khairwa.
 9. Kishan, in S. 1669 (A.D. 1613), founded Kishangarh ; he had three sons, Sahasmall, Jagmall, Biharmall, who had Hari Singh, who had Rup Singh, who founded Rupnagarh.
 10. Jaswant, his son Man founded Manpura, his issue called Manpura Jodha.
 11. Kesho founded Pisangan.
 12. Ramdas.
 13. Puranmall.
 14. Madhodash.
 15. Mohandas.
 16. Kirat Singh.
 17. ———
- } No mention of them.

And seventeen daughters not registered in the chronicle [38].

¹ Ratlam, Kishangarh, and Rupnagarh are independent, and all under the separate protection of the British Government.

CHAPTER 5

Rāja Sūr Singh, A.D. 1595–1620.—Sur Singh succeeded in S. 1651 (A.D. 1595). He was serving with the Imperial forces at Lahore, where he had commanded since S. 1648, when intelligence reached him of his father's death. His exploits and services were of the most brilliant nature, and had obtained for him, even during his father's life, the title of "Sawai Raja,"¹ and a high grade amongst the dignitaries of the empire. He was commanded by Akbar to reduce the arrogant prince of Sirohi, who, trusting to the natural strength of his mountainous country, still refused to acknowledge a liege lord. This service well accorded with his private views, for he had a feud (*wair*) with Rao Surthan, which, according to the chronicle, he completely revenged. "He avenged his feud with Surthan and plundered Sirohi. The Rao had not a pallet left to sleep upon, but was obliged to make a bed for his wives upon the earth." This appears to have humbled the Deora, "who, in his pride, shot his arrows at the sun for daring to shine upon him."

Campaign in Gujarāt.—Surthan accepted the imperial [39] farman in token of submission, and agreed to serve with a contingent of his hardy clansmen in the war then entrusted to Raja Sur against the king of Gujarat, whose success we shall relate in the simple language of the chronicle: "The Raja took the *pan* against the king Muzaffar, with the title of viceroy of Gujarat. The armies met at Dhandhuka,² where a terrible conflict ensued. The Rathors lost many valiant men, but the Shah was defeated, and lost all the insignia of his greatness. He sent the spoil of seventeen thousand towns to the king, but kept a crore of *drabs*³ for himself, which he sent to Jodhpur, and therewith he enlarged the town and fort. For this service Akbar increased his *mansab*, and sent him a sword, with a khilat, and a grant of fresh lands."

¹ [Sawāi means 'a quarter better than any one else.']

² [Dhandhuka about 40 miles W. of Cambay; the account in the text is possibly a confused reference to the insurrection of Muzaffar Husain Mirza, which began in 1577 and ended in the suicide of the rebel in 1591–92 (*BG*, i. Part i. 268 ff.).]

³ [Coins, perhaps gold mohurs (Skt. *dravya*, 'wealth').]

Raja Sur, it appears in the sequel, provided liberally for the bards; for no less than "six lords of verse," whose names are given, had in gift £10,000 each of the spoils of Gujarat, as incentives to song.

On the conquest of Gujarat, Raja Sur was ordered to the Deccan. "He obeyed, and with thirteen thousand horse, ten large guns, and twenty elephants, he fought three grand battles. On the Rewa (Nerbudda) he attacked Amra Balecha,¹ who had five thousand horse, whom he slew, and reduced all his country. For this service the king sent him a *naubat* (kettle-drum), and conferred on him Dhar and its domain."

On Akbar's death and the accession of Jahangir, Sur Singh attended at court with his son and heir, Gaj Singh, whom the king with his own hands invested with the sword, for his bravery in the escalade of Jalor, which had been conquered by the monarch of Gujarat and added to his domain. The poet thus relates the event: "Gaj² was commanded against Bihari Pathan; his war-trump sounded; Arbuda [Abu] heard and trembled. What took Alau-d-din years, Gaj accomplished in three months; he escaladed Jalandhara³ sword in hand; many a Rathor of fame was killed, but he put to the sword seven thousand Pathans, whose spoils were sent to the king."

Raja Sur, it would appear, after the overthrow of the dynasty of Gujarat, remained at the capital, while his son and heir, Gaj Singh, attended the king's [40] commands, and, soon after the taking of Jalor, was ordered with the Marwar contingent against Rana Amra of Mewar: it was at the very moment of its expiring liberties,⁴ for the chronicle merely adds, "Karan agreed to serve the king, and Gaj Singh returned to Taragarh.⁵ The king increased both his own *mansab* (dignity) and that of his father, Raja Sur."

Thus the Rajput chronicler, solicitous only to record the fame of his own princes, does not deem it necessary to concern himself

¹ Balecha is one of the Chauhan tribes. [It does not appear in recent lists.]

² *Gaj*, 'the elephant.'

³ Classical appellation of Jalor.

⁴ The chronicle says, "In S. 1609 (A.D. 1613), the king formed an army against the Rana"; which accords exactly with the date in the emperor's own memoirs.

⁵ Ajmer, of which the citadel is styled Taragarh.

with the agents conjoined with them, so that a stranger to the events of the period would imagine, from the high relief given to their actions, that the Rathor princes commanded in all the great events described; for instance, that just mentioned, involving the submission of the Rana, when Raja Gaj was merely one of the great leaders who accompanied the Mogul heir-apparent, Prince Khurram, on this memorable occasion. In the Diary of Jahangir, the emperor, recording this event, does not even mention the Rathor prince, though he does those of Kotah and Datia, as the instruments by which Prince Khurram carried on the negotiation; ¹ from which we conclude that Raja Gaj merely acted a military part in the grand army which then invaded Mewar.

Death of Rāja Sūr Singh, A.D. 1620 : his Character.—Raja Sur died in the Deccan, in S. 1676 (A.D. 1620). He added greatly to the lustre of the Rathor name, was esteemed by the emperor, and, as the bard expresses it, “His spear was frightful to the Southron.” Whether Raja Sur disapproved of the exterminating warfare carried on in these regions, or was exasperated at the unlimited service he was doomed to, which detained him from his native land, he, in his last moments, commanded a pillar to be erected with a curse engraven thereon, imprecated upon any of his race who should once cross the Nerbudda. From his boyhood he had been almost an alien to his native land: he had accompanied his father wherever he led the aid of Maru, was serving at Lahore at the period of his accession, and died far from the monuments of his fathers, in the heart of the peninsula. Although the emperor was not ungrateful in his estimate of these services,—for Raja Sur held by patent no less than “sixteen [41] grand fiefs” ² of the empire, and with the title of Sawai raised above all the princes, his associates at court,—it was deemed no compensation for perpetual absence from the hereditary domain, thus abandoned to the management of servants. The great

¹ See Annals of Mewār, Vol. I. p. 418.

² Of these, nine were the subdivisions of his native dominions, styled “The Nine Castles of Maru”; for on becoming one of the great feudatories of the empire, he made a formal surrender of these, receiving them again by grant, renewed on every lapse, with all the ceremonies of investiture and relief. Five were in Gujarat, one in Malwa, and one in the Deccan. We see that thirteen thousand horse was the contingent of Marwar for the lands thus held.

vassals, his clansmen, participated in this dissatisfaction, separated from their wives, families, and estates ; for to them the pomp of imperial greatness, or the sunshine of court-favour, was as nothing when weighed against the exercise of their influence within their own cherished patrimony. The simple fare of the desert was dearer to the Rathor than all the luxuries of the imperial banquet, which he turned from with disgust to the recollection of "the green pulse of Mandawar," or his favourite *rabri*, or 'maize porridge,' the prime dish with the Rathor. These minor associations conjoined with greater evils to increase the *mal de pays*, of whose influence no human being is more susceptible than the brave Rajput.

Raja Sur greatly added to the beauty of his capital, and left several works which bear his name ; amongst them, not the least useful in that arid region, is the lake called the Sur Sagar, or 'Warrior's Sea,' which irrigates the gardens on its margin. He left six sons and seven daughters, of whose issue we have no account, namely, Gaj Singh, his successor ; Sabal Singh, Biramdeo, Bijai Singh, Partap Singh, and Jaswant Singh.

Rāja Gaj Singh, A.D. 1620–38.—Raja Gaj, who succeeded his father in A.D. 1620, was born at Lahore, and the *tika* of investiture found him in the royal camp at Burhanpur. The bearer of it was Darab Khan, the son of the Khankhanan,¹ or premier noble of the emperor's court, who, as the imperial proxy, girt Raja Gaj with the sword. Besides the "nine castles" (*Naukoti Marwar*), his patrimony, his patent contained a grant of "seven divisions" of Gujarat, of the district of Jhalai in Dhundhar ; and what was of more consequence to him, though of less intrinsic value, that of Masuda in Ajmer, the heirloom of his house. Besides these marks of distinction, he received the highest proof of confidence in the elevated post of viceroy of the Deccan ; and, as a special testimony of imperial favour, the Rathor cavaliers composing his contingent were exempted from the *dagh*,² that is, having their steeds branded with the imperial signet. His elder son, Amra Singh, served with [42] his father in all his various battles, to the success of which his conspicuous gallantry on every occasion contributed. In the sieges and battles of Kirkigarh, Golkonda,

¹ [Mirza Abdu-r-rahīm, son of Bairām Khān (*Āīn*, i. 334 ff.).]

² [For this branding system see *Āīn*, i. 139 f. ; Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, 45 ff.]

Khelna, Parnala, Gajangarh, Asir and Satara, the Rathors had their full share of glory, which obtained for their leader the title of Dalthaman, or 'barrier of the host.' We have already¹ remarked the direct influence which the Rajput princes had in the succession to the imperial dignity, consequent upon the intermarriage of their daughters with the crown, and the various interests arising therefrom. Sultan Parvez, the elder son and heir of Jahangir, was the issue of a princess of Marwar,² while the second son, Khurram, as his name imports, was the son of a Kachhwaha³ princess of Amber. Being the offspring of polygamy and variously educated, these princes were little disposed to consider consanguinity as a bond of natural union; and their respective mothers, with all the ambition of their race, thought of nothing but obtaining the diadem for the head of their children. With either of these rival queens, the royal children who were not her own had no affinity with her or hers, and these feelings were imparted from the birth to their issue, and thus it too often happened that the heir of the throne was looked upon with an envious eye, as a bar to be removed at all hazards. This evil almost neutralized the great advantages derived from intermarriage with the indigenous races of India; but it was one which would have ceased with polygamy.

Death of Parvez, A.D. 1626.—Khurram felt his superiority over his elder brother, Parvez, in all but the accidental circumstance of birth. He was in every respect a better man, and a braver and more successful soldier; and, having his ambition thus early nurtured by the stimulants administered by Bhim of Mewar, and the intrepid Mahabat,⁴ he determined to remove this barrier

¹ See Vol. I. p. 435.

² [Parvez or Parvīz was son of Sāhib Jamāl, daughter of Khwāja Hasan, uncle of Zain Khān Kōka; but this is not quite certain (*Āīn*, i. 310; *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, trans. Rogers-Beveridge, 19; Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dict.* s.v.).]

³ Kachhua and Khurram are synonymous terms for the race which rules Amber—the Tortoises of Rajasthan. [This is an extraordinary misapprehension. *Khurram* is a Persian word, meaning 'pleased, glad'; the Author confuses it with Skt. *Kūrma*, 'a tortoise.' The mother of Khurram, Balmati or Jagat Gosāin, was daughter of Udai Singh of Mārwar; see *Tuzuk*, 19; Beale, s.v. *Shāh Jahān*.]

⁴ A Rajput of the Rana's house, converted to the faith. [Mahābat Khān, Khānkhānān, Sipāhsālār Zamāna Beg, was not a Rājput, but son of Ghiyās Beg, Kābuli (Manucci i. 167; Elliot-Dowson vi. 288).]

between him and the crown. His views were first developed whilst leading the armies in the Deccan, and he communicated them to Raja Gaj of Marwar, who held the post of honour next the prince, and solicited his aid to place him on the throne. Gratitude for the favours heaped upon him by the king, as well as the natural bias to Parvez, made the Raja turn a deaf ear to his application. The prince tried to gain his point through Govinddas, a Rajput of the Bhatti tribe, one of the foreign nobles of Maru, and confidential adviser of his prince ; but, as the annals say, "Govinddas reckoned no one but his master and the [43] king." Frustrated in this, Khurram saw no hopes of success but by disgusting the Rathors, and he caused the faithful Govinddas to be assassinated by Kishan Singh ;¹ on which Raja Gaj, in disgust, threw up his post, and marched to his native land. From the assassination of Parvez, which soon followed,² the deposal of his father appeared but a step ; and Khurram had collected means, which he deemed adequate to the design, when Jahangir appealed to the fidelity of the Rajputs, to support him against filial ingratitude and domestic treason ; and, in their general obedience to the call, they afforded a distinguished proof of the operation of the first principle, Gaddi-ka-an, allegiance to the throne, often obeyed without reference to the worth of its occupant. The princes of Marwar, Amber, Kotah, and Bundi put themselves at the head of their household retainers on this occasion, which furnishes a confirmation of a remark already made, that the respective annals of the States of Rajasthan so rarely embrace the contemporaneous events of the rest, as to lead to the conclusion that by the single force of each State this rebellion was put down. This remark will be further exemplified from the annals of Bundi.

Offence given to the Rāthors.—Jahangir was so pleased with the zeal of the Rathor prince—alarmed as he was at the advance

¹ This was the founder of Kishangarh ; for this iniquitous service he was made an independent Raja in the town which he erected. His descendant is now an ally by treaty with the British Government. [Kishan Singh, born A.D. 1575, founded Kishangarh, a State in the centre of Rājputāna, in 1611, died 1615 (*JGI*, xv. 311).]

² [Parvez died at Burhānpur in 1626. "He was first attacked with colic, then he became insensible, and after medical treatment fell into a heavy sleep. . . . His illness was attributed to excessive drinking" (Elliot-Dowson vi. 429).]

of the rebels—that he not only took him by the hand, but what is most unusual, kissed it. When the assembled princes came in sight of the rebels, near Benares, the emperor gave the *harawal*, or vanguard, to the Kachhwaha prince, the Mirza raja of Amber. Whether this was a point of policy, to secure his acting against prince Khurram, who was born of this race, or merely, as the Marwar annals state, because he brought the greater number into the field, is immaterial; but it was very nearly fatal in its consequences: for the proud Rathor, indignant at the insult offered to him in thus bestowing the post of honour, which was his right, upon the rival race of Amber, furlled his banners, separated from the royal army, and determined to be a quiet spectator of the result. But for the impetuous Bhim of Mewar, the adviser of Khurram, he might that day have been emperor of India. He sent a taunting message to Raja Gaj, either to join their cause or “draw their swords.” The Rathors overlooked the neglect of the king in the sarcasm of one of their own tribe; and Bhim was slain, Govinddas avenged, the rebellion quelled, and Khurram put to flight, chiefly by the Rathors and Haras [44].

Death of Rāja Gaj Singh, A.D. 1638.—In S. 1694 (A.D. 1638), Raja Gaj was slain in an expedition into Gujarat;¹ but whether in the fulfilment of the king’s commands, or in the chastisement of freebooters on his own southern frontier, the chronicles do not inform us. He left a distinguished name in the annals of his country, and two valiant sons, Amra and Jaswant, to maintain it: another son, Achal, died in infancy.

Rāja Jaswant Singh, A.D. 1638-78.—The second son, Jaswant, succeeded, and furnishes another of many instances in the annals of Rajputana, of the rights of primogeniture being set aside. This proceeded from a variety of motives, sometimes merely paternal affection, sometimes incapacity in the child “to head fifty thousand Rathors,” and sometimes, as in the present instance, a dangerous turbulence and ever-boiling impetuosity in the individual, which despised all restraints. While there was an enemy against whom to exert it, Amra was conspicuous for his gallantry, and in all his father’s wars in the south was ever foremost in the battle. His daring spirit collected around him those of his own race, alike in mind, as connected by blood, whose actions, in periods of peace, were the subjects of eternal complaint to his father,

¹ [By another account he died at Agra (Erskine iii. A, 59).]

who was ultimately compelled to exclude Amra from his inheritance.

Amra, Amar Singh excluded from the Succession.—In the month of Baisakh, S. 1690 (A.D. 1634), five years before the death of Raja Gaj, in a convocation of all the feudality of Maru, sentence of exclusion from the succession was pronounced upon Amra, accompanied by the solemn and seldom practised rite of Desvata or exile. This ceremony, which is marked as a day of mourning in the calendar, was attended with all the circumstances of funeral pomp. As soon as the sentence was pronounced, that his birthright was forfeited and assigned to his junior brother, and that he ceased to be a subject of Maru, the khilat of banishment was brought forth, consisting of sable vestments, in which he was clad; a sable shield was hung upon his back, and a sword of the same hue girded round him; a black horse was then led out, being mounted on which, he was commanded, though not in anger, to depart whither he listed beyond the limits of Maru.

Amra went not alone; numbers of each clan, who had always regarded him as their future lord, voluntarily partook of his exile. He repaired to the imperial court; and although the emperor approved and sanctioned his banishment, he employed him. His gallantry soon won him the title of Rao and the mansab of a leader of three thousand, with the grant of Nagor as an independent domain, to be held directly from the crown. But the same arrogant and uncontrollable spirit [45] which lost him his birthright, brought his days to a tragical conclusion. He absented himself for a fortnight from court, hunting the boar or the tiger, his only recreation. The emperor (Shah Jahan) reprimanded him for neglecting his duties, and threatened him with a fine. Amra proudly replied that he had only gone to hunt, and as for a fine, he observed, putting his hand upon his sword, that was his sole wealth.

Amra, Amar assassinates Salābat Khān.—The little contrition which this reply evinced determined the king to enforce the fine, and the paymaster-general, Salabat Khan,¹ was sent to Amra's

¹ Salabat Khan Bakhshi, he is called. The office of Bakhshi is not only one of paymaster (as it implies), but of inspection and audit. We can readily imagine, with such levies as he had to muster and pay, his post was more honourable than secure, especially with such a band as was headed by Amra, ready to take offence if the wind but displaced their monstache.

quarters to demand its payment. It was refused, and the observations made by the Sayyid not suiting the temper of Amra, he unceremoniously desired him to depart. The emperor, thus insulted in the person of his officer, issued a mandate for Amra's instant appearance. He obeyed, and having reached the Amm-khass, or grand divan, beheld the king, "whose eyes were red with anger," with Salabat in the act of addressing him. Inflamed with passion at the recollection of the injurious language he had just received, perhaps at the king's confirmation of his exclusion from Marwar, he unceremoniously passed the Omrahs of five and seven thousand, as if to address the king; when, with a dagger concealed in his sleeve, he stabbed Salabat to the heart. Drawing his sword, he made a blow at the king, which descending on the pillar, shivered the weapon in pieces. The king abandoned his throne and fled to the interior apartments. All was uproar and confusion. Amra continued the work of death, indifferent upon whom his blows fell, and five Mogul chiefs of eminence had fallen, when his brother-in-law, Arjun Gaur, under pretence of cajoling him, inflicted a mortal wound, though he continued to ply his dagger until he expired. To avenge his death, his retainers, headed by Balu Champawat and Bhao Kumpawat, put on their saffron garments, and a fresh carnage ensued within the Lal kila.¹ To use the words of their native bard, "The pillars of Agra bear testimony to their deeds, nor shall they ever be obliterated from the record of time: they made their obeisance to

The annals declare that Amra had a feud (*vair*) with Salabat; doubtless for no better reason than that he fulfilled the trust reposed in him by the emperor. [The title Khān implies that Salābat Khān was a Pathān, not a Sayyid, whose title would be Mīr.]

¹ The palace within the citadel (*kila*), built of red (*lal*) freestone. [This tragedy occurred on August 5, 1644 (Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dict.* sv. "Salābat Khān," gives July 25, 1644). European writers of the period give varying accounts of what seems to have been the same event. Tavernier (ed. Ball, ii. 219) says that the victim was "the Grand Master of the King's house," and that it occurred in 1642. Manucci states that the officer who was assassinated was the Wazīr, Wazīr Khān (i. 207 f.). It forms the subject of a popular song, still sung by the bards (Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, ii. 242 ff.). Though the assassination occurred at Agra, a mark is still shown on a pillar in the Diwān-i-Āmm at Delhi, possibly marking the same occurrence, where a prince of Chitor is said to have stabbed one of the ministers (Sleeman, *Rambles*, 515). The tomb of Bakhshi Salābat Khān stands between Agra and Sikandra (Syad Muhammad Latif, *Agra*, 77, 195).]

Amra in the mansions of the sun." The faithful band was cut to pieces; and his wife, the princess of Bundi, came in person and [46] carried away the dead body of Amra, with which she committed herself to the flames. The Bokhara gate by which they gained admission was built up, and henceforward known only as "Amra Singh's gate"; and in proof of the strong impression made by this event,¹ it remained closed through centuries, until opened in 1809 by Capt. Geo. Steell, of the Bengal engineers.²

¹ It may be useful to record such facts, by the way of contrast with the state policy of the west, and for the sake of observing that which would actuate the present paramount power of India should any of its tributary princes defy them as Amra did that of the universal potentate of that country. Even these despots borrowed a lesson of mercy from the Rajput system, which does not deem treason hereditary, nor attains a whole line for the fault of one unworthy link. Shah Jahan, instead of visiting the sins of the father on the son, installed him in his sief of Nagor. This son was Rao Singh; and it devolved to his children and grandchildren,* until Indar Singh the fourth in descent, was expelled by the head of the Rathors, who, in the weakness of the empire, reannexed Nagor to Jodhpur. But perhaps we have not hitherto dared to imitate the examples set us by the Mogul and even by the Mahratta; not having sufficient hold of the affections of the subjected to venture to be merciful; and thence our vengeance, like the bolt of heaven, sears the very heart of our enemies. Witness the many chieftains ejected from their possessions; from the unhallowed league against the Rohillas, to that last act of destruction at Bharatpur, where, as arbitrators, we acted the part of the lion in the fable. Our present attitude, however, is so commanding, that we can afford to display the attribute of mercy; and should, unfortunately, its action be required in Rajputana, let it be ample, for there its grateful influence is understood, and it will return, like the dews of heaven, upon ourselves. But if we are only to regulate our political actions by the apprehension of danger, it must one day recoil upon us in awful retribution. Our system is filled with evil to the governed, where a fit of bile in ephemeral political agents, may engender a quarrel leading to the overthrow of a dominion of ages.

² Since these remarks were written, Captain Steell related to the author a singular anecdote connected with the above circumstance. While the work of demolition was proceeding, Captain Steell was urgently warned by the natives of the danger he incurred in the operation, from a denunciation on the closing of the gate, that it should thenceforward be guarded by a huge serpent—when suddenly, the destruction of the gate being nearly

* Namely, Hathi Singh, his son Anup Singh, his son Indar Singh, his son Mokham Singh. This lineal descendant of Raja Gaj, and the rightful heir to the "cushion of Jodha," has dwindled into one of the petty Thakurs, or lords of Marwar. The system is one of eternal vicissitudes, amidst which the germ of reproduction [47] never perishes.

CHAPTER 6

Rāja Jaswant Singh, A.D. 1638-78.—Raja Jaswant, who obtained, by the banishment of Amra, the “cushion” of Marwar, was born of a princess of Mewar; and although this circumstance is not reported to have influenced the change of succession, it will be borne in mind that, throughout Rajputana, its princes regarded a connexion with the Rana’s family as a primary honour.

“Jaswant (says the Bardai) was unequalled amongst the princes of his time. Stupidity and ignorance were banished; and science flourished where he ruled: many were the books composed under his auspices.”¹

The south continued to be the arena in which the martial Rajput sought renown, and the emperor had only rightly to understand his character to turn the national emulation to account. Shah Jahan, in the language of the chronicler, “became a slave to the seraglio,” and sent his sons, as viceroys, to govern the grand divisions of the empire. The first service of Jaswant was in the war of Gondwana, when he led a body composed of “twenty-two different contingents” in the army under Aurangzeb.² In this and various other services (to enumerate which would be to go [48] over the ground already passed),³ the Rathors were conspicuous. Jaswant played a comparatively subordinate part, until the illness of the emperor, in A.D. 1658, when his elder son Dara was invested with the powers of regent.⁴ Prince Dara increased the mansab of Jaswant to a leader of “five thousand,” and nominated him his viceroy in Malwa.

completed, a large cobra-de-capello rushed between his legs, as if in fulfilment of the anathema. Captain Steell fortunately escaped without injury. [The south gate of the Agra Fort is known as that of Amar Singh.]

¹ [See Grierson, *Vernacular Literature of Hindustān*, Index sv. “Jaswant Singh.”]

² [The Bundela Campaign of 1635 against Jujhār Singh (Jadunāth Sarkar, *Life of Aurangzib*, i. 14 ff.).]

³ The new translation of Ferishta’s *History*, by Lieut.-Col. Briggs, a work much wanted, may be referred to by those who wish to see the opinion of the Muhammadan princes of their Rajput vassalage.

⁴ [It is a mistake to call him Dāra, his name being Dāra Shukoh, ‘majesty like that of Darius.’ He was appointed regent in 1657, when Shāh Jahān fell ill (*ibid.* i. 304 ff.).]

The War of Succession.—In the struggle for empire amongst the sons of Shah Jahan, consequent upon this illness, the importance of the Rajput princes and the fidelity we have often had occasion to depict, were exhibited in the strongest light. While Raja Jai Singh was commanded to oppose prince Shuja, who advanced from his viceroyalty of Bengal, Jaswant was entrusted with means to quash the designs of Aurangzeb, then commanding in the south, who had long cloaked, under the garb of hypocrisy and religion, views upon the empire.

Campaign against Aurangzeb, A.D. 1657-58—The Battle of Dharmātpur.—The Rathor prince was declared generalissimo of the army destined to oppose Aurangzeb, and he marched from Agra at the head of the united contingents of Rajputana, besides the imperial guards, a force which, to use the hyperbole of the bard, "made Shesnag¹ writhe in agony." Jaswant marched towards the Nerbudda, and had encamped his army in a position fifteen miles south of Ujjain, when tidings reached him of his opponent's approach. In that field on which the emperor erected a town subsequently designated Fatehabad, or 'abode of victory,' Jaswant awaited his foes.² The battle which ensued, witnessed and so circumstantially related by Bernier, as has been already noticed in this work,³ was lost by the temerity of the Rathor commander-in-chief, who might have crushed the rebellious hopes of Aurangzeb, to whom he purposely gave time to effect a junction with his brother Murad, from the vainglorious desire "to conquer two princes at once." Dearly did he pay for his presumption; for he had given time to the wily prince to sow intrigues in his camp, which were disclosed as soon as the battle joined, when the Mogul horse deserted and left him at the head of his thirty thousand Rajputs, deemed, however, by their leader and themselves, sufficient against any odds. "Jaswant, spear in hand, mounted his steed Mahbub, and charged the imperial brothers; ten thousand Muslims fell in the onset, which cost seventeen hundred Rathors [49], besides Guhilots, Haras, Gaurs,

¹ [The serpent which upholds the world.]

² [The battle fought at Dharmātpur, 14 miles S.W. of Ujjain, April 15 or 25, 1658. See a full account by Jadunāth Sarkar, ii. 3 ff., who remarks that the description in Bernier (p. 36 ff.) is untrustworthy, while Tod "merely records the wild fictions of the Rajput bards" (ii. 13 note). Fatehābād was the name given to Samūgarh, fought June 8, following.]

³ P. 724.

and some of every clan of Rajwara. Aurang and Murad only escaped because their days were not yet numbered. Mahbub and his rider were covered with blood ; Jasa looked like a famished lion, and like one he relinquished his prey." The bard is fully confirmed in his relation of the day, both by the Mogul historian and by Bernier, who says, that notwithstanding the immense superiority of the imperial princes, aided by a numerous artillery served by Frenchmen, night alone put a stop to the contest of science, numbers, and artillery, against Rajput courage. Both armies remained on the field of battle, and though we have no notice of the anecdote related by the first translator of Ferishta, who makes Jaswant "in bravado drive his car round the field,"¹ it is certain that Aurangzeb was too politic to renew the combat, or molest the retreat which took place next day towards his native dominions. Although, for the sake of alliteration, the bard especially singles out the Guhilots and Gaurs, the tribes of Mewar and Sheopur, all and every tribe was engaged ; and if the Rajput ever dared to mourn the fall of kindred in battle, this day should have covered every house with the emblems of grief ; for it is stated by the Mogul historian that fifteen thousand fell, chiefly Rajputs. This was one of the events glorious to the Rajput, showing his devotion to whom fidelity (*swamidharma*) had been pledged—the aged and enfeebled emperor Shah Jahan, whose "salt they ate"—against all the temptations offered by youthful ambition. It is forcibly contrasted with the conduct of the immediate household troops of the emperor, who, even in the moment of battle, worshipped the rising sun, whilst the Rajput sealed his faith in his blood ; and none more liberally than the brave Haras of Kotah and Bundi. The annals of no nation on earth can furnish such an example, as an entire family, six royal brothers, stretched on the field, and all but one in death.²

Of all the deeds of heroism performed on this day, those of Ratna of Ratlam, by universal consent, are pre-eminent, and "are wreathed into immortal rhyme by the bard" in the Raesa Rao Ratna.³ He also was a Rathor, the great-grandson of Udai

¹ [Dow, 2nd ed. iii. 206.]

² See Kotah annals, which state that that prince and five brothers all fell in this field of carnage.

³ Amongst the MSS. presented by the author to the Royal Asiatic Society, is this work, the Raesa Rao Ratna. ["To Ratan Singh of Ratlam a noble

Singh, the first raja of Maru ; and nobly did he show that the Rathor blood had not degenerated on the fertile plains of Malwa. If aught were wanting to complete the fame of this memorable day, which gave empire to the scourge of Rajputana [50], it is found in the conduct of Jaswant's queen, who, as elsewhere related,¹ shut the gates of his capital on her fugitive lord, though he "brought back his shield" and his honour.

Battle of Jājau.—Aurangzeb, on Jaswant's retreat, entered the capital of Malwa in triumph, whence, with all the celerity requisite to success, he pursued his march on the capital. At the village of Jajau, thirty miles south of Agra, the fidelity of the Rajputs again formed a barrier between the aged king and the treason of his son ; but it served no other purpose than to illustrate this fidelity. The Rajputs were overpowered, Dara was driven from the regency, and the aged emperor deposed.²

Battle of Khajwa.—Aurangzeb, soon after usurping the throne, sent, through the prince of Amber, his assurances of pardon to Jaswant, and a summons to the presence, preparatory to joining the army forming against his brother Shuja, advancing to vindicate his claims to empire. The Rathor, deeming it a glorious occasion for revenge, obeyed, and communicated to Shuja his intentions. The hostile armies met at Khajwa, thirty miles north of Allahabad.³ On the first onset, Jaswant, wheeling about with his Rathor cavaliers, attacked the rearward of the army under prince Muhammad, which he cut to pieces, and plundering the imperial camp (left unprotected), he deliberately loaded his camels with the most valuable effects, which he despatched under part of the force, and leaving the brothers to a contest, which he heartily wished might involve the destruction of both, he followed

monument was raised by his descendants on the spot where his corpse was burnt. Time overwhelmed it, but in 1909 its place was taken by a lofty structure of white marble, decorated with relief-work of a bold but conventional type, and surmounted with a stone horse" (Jadunāth Sarkar ii. 27).]

¹ See p. 724.

² [The battle of Samūgarh, nine miles E. of Agra, fought June 8, 1658, or, according to Jadunāth Sarkar (ii. 32) on May 29, 1658.]

³ [The battle of Khajwa or Khajuha, in the Fatehpur District, nearly 100 miles N.W. of Allāhābād, on January 14, 1659, or, according to Jadunāth Sarkar, on January 4-5, 1659. The dates fixed by Irvine (*IA*, xl. 69 ff.) are probably correct, and have been followed in the notes.]

the cortège to Agra. Such was the panic on his appearance at that capital, joined to the rumours of Aurangzeb's defeat, which had nearly happened, that the wavering garrison required only a summons to have surrendered, when he might have released Shah Jahan from confinement, and with this "tower of strength" have rallied an opposition fatal to the prince.

Policy of Jaswant Singh.—That this plan suggested itself to Jaswant's sagacity we cannot doubt; but besides the manifest danger of locking up his army within the precincts of a capital, if victory was given to Aurangzeb, he had other reasons for not halting at Agra. All his designs were in concert with prince Dara, the rightful heir to the throne, whom he had instructed to hasten to the scene of action; but while Jaswant remained hovering in the rear of Aurangzeb, momentarily expecting the junction of the prince, the latter loitered on the southern frontier of Marwar, and thus lost, for [51] ever, the crown within his grasp. Jaswant continued his route to his native dominions, and had at least the gratification of housing the spoils, even to the regal tents, in the castle of Jodha. Dara tardily formed a junction at Merta; but the critical moment was lost, and Aurangzeb, who had crushed Shuja's force, rapidly advanced, now joined by many of the Rajput princes, to overwhelm this last remnant of opposition. The crafty Aurangzeb, however, who always preferred stratagem to the precarious issue of arms, addressed a letter to Jaswant, not only assuring him of his entire forgiveness, but offering the viceroyalty of Gujarat, if he would withdraw his support from Dara, and remain neuter in the contest. Jaswant accepted the conditions, and agreed to lead the Rajput contingents, under prince Muazzam, in the war against Sivaji, bent on reviving the independence of Maharashtra. From the conduct again pursued by the Rathor, we have a right to infer that he only abandoned Dara because, though possessed of many qualities which endeared him to the Rajput, besides his title to the throne, he wanted those virtues necessary to ensure success against his energetic brother. Scarcely had Jaswant reached the Deccan when he opened a communication with Sivaji, planned the death of the king's lieutenant, Shaista Khan, on which he hoped to have the guidance of the army, and the young viceroy. Aurangzeb received authentic intelligence of this plot, and the share Jaswant had in it; but he temporized, and even sent letters of congratulation on

his succeeding to the command in chief. But he soon superseded him by Raja Jai Singh of Amber, who brought the war to a conclusion by the capture of Sivaji.¹ The honour attending this exploit was, however, soon exchanged for disgrace ; for when the Amber prince found that the tyrant had designs upon the life of his prisoner, for whose safety he had pledged himself, he connived at his escape.² Upon this, Jaswant was once more declared the emperor's lieutenant, and soon inspired prince Muazzam-with designs, which again compelled the king to supersede him, and Diler Khan was declared general-in-chief. He reached Aurangabad, and the night of his arrival would have been his last, but he received intimation and rapidly retreated, pursued by the prince and Jaswant to the Nerbudda. The emperor saw the necessity of removing Jaswant from this dangerous post, and he sent him the farman as viceroy of Gujarat, to which he commanded him to repair without delay. He obeyed, reached Ahmadabad, and found the king had outwitted him and his [52] successor in command ; he therefore continued his course to his native dominions, where he arrived in S. 1726 (A.D. 1670).

The wily tyrant had, in all these changes, used every endeavour to circumvent Jaswant, and, if the annals are correct, was little scrupulous as to the means. But the Raja was protected by the fidelity of his kindred vassalage. In the words of the bardic chronicler, "The Aswapati,³ Aurang, finding treachery in vain, put the collar of simulated friendship round his neck, and sent him beyond the Attock to die."

The emperor saw that the only chance of counteracting Jaswant's inveterate hostility was to employ him where he would be least dangerous. He gladly availed himself of a rebellion amongst the Afghans of Kabul ; and with many promises of favour to himself and his family, appointed him to the chief command,⁴ to lead his turbulent Rajputs against the equally turbulent and almost savage Afghans. Leaving his elder son, Prithi Singh, in charge of his ancestral domains, with his wives,

¹ [June 23, 1665.]

² [Jai Singh seems to have had no direct part in the escape of Sivaji from Delhi, August 29, 1666 (Grant Duff, *Hist. Mahrattas*, 96).]

³ The common epithet of the Islamite emperors, in the dialect of the bard, is *Aspat*, classically *Aswapati*, 'lord of horses.'

⁴ [He was appointed Faujdār of Jamrūd at the mouth of the Khaibar Pass.]

family, and the chosen bands of Maru, Jaswant departed for the land of the "barbarian," from which he was destined never to return.

Treatment of Prithi Singh by Aurangzeb.—It is related, in the chronicles of Maru, that Aurangzeb having commanded the attendance at court of Jaswant's heir, he obeyed, and was received not only with the distinctions which were his due, but with the most specious courtesy; that one day, with unusual familiarity, the king desired him to advance, and grasping firmly his folded hands (the usual attitude of deference) in one of his own, said, "Well, Rathor, it is told me you possess as nervous an arm as your father; what can you do now?" "God preserve your majesty!" replied the Rajput prince, "when the sovereign of mankind lays the hand of protection on the meanest of his subjects, all his hopes are realized; but when he condescends to take both of mine, I feel as if I could conquer the world." His vehement and animated gesture gave full force to his words, and Aurangzeb quickly exclaimed, "Ah! here is another Khatan"¹ (the term he always applied to Jaswant); yet, affecting to be pleased with the frank boldness of his speech, he ordered him a splendid dress, which, as customary, he put on, and, having made his obeisance, left the presence in the certain assurance of exaltation.

That day was his last!—he was taken ill soon after reaching his quarters, and [53] expired in great torture, and to this hour his death is attributed to the poisoned robe of honour presented by the king.²

Prithi Singh was the staff of his father's age, and endowed with all the qualities required to lead the swords of Maru. His death,

¹ [A near relation by marriage.]

² This mode of being rid of enemies is firmly believed by the Rajputs, and several other instances of it are recorded in this work. Of course, it must be by porous absorption; and in a hot climate, where only a thin tunic is worn next the skin, much mischief might be done, though it is difficult to understand how death could be accomplished. [See p. 728.] That the belief is of ancient date we have only to recall the story of Hercules put into doggerel by Pope:

——"He, whom Dejanire
Wrapp'd in th' envenom'd shirt, and set on fire."

["The Wife of Bath," 380-1. The tragical death of Prithi Singh is still the subject for songs of the bards (Temple, *Legends of the Panjāb*, iii. 252 ff.).]

thus reported, cast a blight on the remaining days of Jaswant, who, in this cruel stroke, saw that his mortal foe had gone beyond him in revenge. The sacrifice of Prithi Singh was followed by the death of his only remaining sons, Jagat Singh and Dalthamman, from the ungenial climate of Kabul, and grief soon closed the existence of the veteran Rathor. He expired amidst the mountains of the north, without an heir to his revenge, in S. 1737 (A.D. 1681), having ruled the tribes of Maru for two-and-forty years. In this year, death released Aurangzeb from the greatest terrors of his life ; for the illustrious Sivaji and Jaswant paid the debt to nature within a few months of each other.¹ Of the Rathor, we may use the words of the biographer of his contemporary, Rana Raj Singh of Mewar : "Sighs never ceased flowing from Aurang's heart while Jaswant lived."

Character of Jaswant Singh.—The life of Jaswant Singh is one of the most extraordinary in the annals of Rajputana, and a full narrative of it would afford a perfect and deeply interesting picture of the history and manners of the period. Had his abilities, which were far above mediocrity, been commensurate with his power, credit, and courage, he might, with the concurrent aid of the many powerful enemies of Aurangzeb, have overturned the Mogul throne. Throughout the long period of two-and-forty years, events of magnitude crowded upon each other, from the period of his first contest with Aurangzeb, in the battle of the Nerbudda, to his conflicts with the Afghans amidst the snows of Caucasus. Although the Rathor had a preference amongst the sons of Shah Jahan, esteeming the frank Dara above the crafty Aurangzeb, yet he detested the whole race as inimical to the religion and the independence of his own ; and he only fed the hopes of any of the brothers, in their struggles for empire, expecting that they would end in the ruin of all. His blind [54] arrogance lost him the battle of the Nerbudda, and the supineness of Dara prevented his reaping the fruit of his treachery at Khajwa. The former event, as it reduced the means and lessened the fame of Jaswant, redoubled his hatred to the conqueror. Jaswant neglected no opportunity which gave a chance of revenge. Im-

¹ [This is an error. Jaswant Singh died December 18, 1678 (Irvine's note on Manucci ii. 233, *IA*, xl. 77). Sivaji died probably on April 17, 1680 (Fryer, *New Account of East India and Persia*, ed. Hakluyt Society, iii. 167)]

pelled by this motive, more than by ambition, he never declined situations of trust, and in each he disclosed the ruling passion of his mind. His overture to Šivaji (like himself the implacable foe of the Mogul), against whom he was sent to act ; his daring attempt to remove the imperial lieutenants, one by assassination, the other by open force ; his inciting Muazzam, whose inexperience he was sent to guide, to revolt against his father, are some among the many signal instances of Jaswant's thirst for vengeance. The emperor, fully aware of this hatred, yet compelled from the force of circumstances to dissemble, was always on the watch to counter-act it, and the artifices this mighty king had recourse to in order to conciliate Jaswant, perhaps to throw him off his guard, best attest the dread in which he held him. Alternately he held the viceroyalty of Gujarat, of the Deccan, of Malwa, Ajmer, and Kabul (where he died), either directly of the king, or as the king's lieutenant, and second in command under one of the princes. But he used all these favours merely as stepping-stones to the sole object of his life. Accordingly, if Jaswant's character had been drawn by a biographer of the court, viewed merely in the light of a great vassal of the empire, it would have reached us marked with the stigma of treachery in every trust reposed in him ; but, on the other hand, when we reflect on the character of the king, the avowed enemy of the Hindu faith, we only see in Jaswant a prince putting all to hazard in its support. He had to deal with one who placed him in these offices, not from personal regard, but because he deemed a hollow submission better than avowed hostility, and the raja, therefore, only opposed fraud to hypocrisy, and treachery to superior strength. Doubtless the Rathor was sometimes dazzled by the baits which the politic king administered to his vanity ; and when all his brother princes eagerly contended for royal favour, it was something to be singled out as the first amongst his peers in Rajputana. By such conflicting impulses were both parties actuated in their mutual conduct throughout a period in duration nearly equal to the life of man ; and it is no slight testimony to Aurangzeb's skill in managing such a subject, that he was able to neutralize the hatred and the power of Jaswant throughout this lengthened [55] period. But it was this vanity, and the immense power wielded by the kings who could reward service by the addition of a vice-royalty to their hereditary domains, that made the Rajput princes slaves ;

for, had all the princely contemporaries of Jaswant—Jai Singh of Amber, the Rana Raj of Mewar, and Sivaji—coalesced against their national foe, the Mogul power must have been extinct. Could Jaswant, however, have been satisfied with the mental wounds he inflicted upon the tyrant, he would have had ample revenge; for the image of the Rathor crossed all his visions of aggrandizement. The cruel sacrifice of his heir, and the still more barbarous and unrelenting ferocity with which he pursued Jaswant's innocent family, are the surest proofs of the dread which the Rathor prince inspired while alive.

The Tale of Nāhar Khān.—Previous, however, to entering on this and the eventful period which followed Jaswant's death, we may record a few anecdotes illustrative of the character and manners of the vassal chieftains, by whose aid he was thus enabled to brave Aurangzeb. Nor can we do better than allow Nahar Khan, chief of the Kumpawats and premier noble, to be the representative portrait of the clans of Maru. It was by the vigilance of this chief, and his daring intrepidity, that the many plots laid for Jaswant's life were defeated; and in the anecdote already given, when in order to restore his prince from a fit of mental delusion,¹ he braved the superstitions of his race, his devotion was put to a severer test than any which could result from personal peril. The anecdote connected with his *nom de guerre* of Nahar (*tiger*) Khan, exemplifies his personal, as the other does his mental, intrepidity. The real name of this individual, the head of the Kumpawat clan, was Mukunddas. He had personally incurred the displeasure of the emperor, by a reply which was deemed disrespectful to a message sent by the royal Ahadi,² for which the tyrant condemned him to enter a tiger's den, and contend for his life unarmed. Without a sign of fear he entered the arena, where the savage beast was pacing, and thus contemptuously accosted him: "Oh, tiger of the Miyan,³ face the tiger of Jaswant"; exhibiting to the king of the forest a pair of eyes, which anger and opium had rendered little less inflamed than his own. The animal, startled by so unaccustomed a salutation, for a moment looked at his visitor, put down his

¹ See p. 967.

² [See p. 784.]

³ *Miyān* is a term used by the Hindu to a Muslim, who himself generally applies it to a pedagogue: the village schoolmaster has always the honourable epithet of *Miyān-jī*!

head, turned round and [56] stalked from him. "You see," exclaimed the Rathor, "that he dare not face me, and it is contrary to the creed of a true Rajput to attack an enemy who dares not confront him." Even the tyrant, who beheld the scene, was surprised into admiration, presented him with gifts, and asked if he had any children to inherit his prowess. His reply, "How can we get children, when you keep us from our wives beyond the Attock?" fully shows that the Rathor and fear were strangers to each other. From this singular encounter he bore the name of Nahar Khan, 'the tiger lord.'

On another occasion, from the same freedom of speech, he incurred the displeasure of the Shahzada, or prince-royal, who, with youthful levity, commanded the 'tiger lord' to attempt a feat which he deemed inconsistent with his dignity, namely, gallop at speed under a horizontal branch of a tree and cling to it while the steed passed on. This feat, requiring both agility and strength, appears to have been a common amusement, and it is related in the *Annals of Mewar* that the chief of *Banera* broke his spine in the attempt; and there were few who did not come off with bruises and falls, in which consisted the sport. When Nahar heard the command, he indignantly replied, he "was not a monkey"; that "if the prince wished to see his feats, it must be where his sword had play"; on which he was ordered against Surthan, the Deora prince of Sirohi, for which service he had the whole Rathor contingent at his disposal. The Deora prince, who could not attempt to cope against it in the field, took to his native hills; but while he deemed himself secure, Mukund, with a chosen band, in the dead of night, entered the glen where the Sirohi prince reposed, stabbed the solitary sentinel, bound the prince with his own turban to his pallet, while, environing him with his clansmen, he gave the alarm. The Deoras starting from their rocky beds, collected round their prince, and were preparing for the rescue, when Nahar called aloud, "You see his life is in my hands; be assured it is safe if you are wise; but he dies on the least opposition to my determination to convey him to my prince. My sole object in giving the alarm was that you might behold me carry off my prize." He conveyed Surthan to Jaswant, who said he must introduce him to the king. The Deora prince was carried to court, and being led between the proper officers to the palace, he was instructed to perform that profound

obeisance, from which none were exempted. But the haughty Deora replied, "His life was in the king's hands, his [57] honour in his own; he had never bowed the head to mortal man, and never would." As Jaswant had pledged himself for his honourable treatment, the officers of the ceremonies endeavoured by stratagem to obtain a constrained obeisance, and instead of introducing him as usual, they showed him a wicket, knee high, and very low overhead, by which to enter, but putting his feet foremost, his head was the last part to appear.¹ This stubborn ingenuity, his noble bearing, and his long-protracted resistance, added to Jaswant's pledge, won the king's favour; and he not only proffered him pardon, but whatever lands he might desire. Though the king did not name the return, Surthan was well aware of the terms, but he boldly and quickly replied, "What can your majesty bestow equal to Achalgarh? let me return to it is all I ask." The king had the magnanimity to comply with his request; Surthan was allowed to retire to the castle of Abu,² nor did he or any of the Deoras ever rank themselves amongst the vassals of the empire; but they have continued to the present hour a life of almost savage independence.

From such anecdotes we learn the character of the tiger lord of Asop; and his brother Rathors of Marwar; men reckless of life when put in competition with distinction and fidelity to their prince, as will be abundantly illustrated in the reign we are about to describe.

CHAPTER 7

Fatè of the Family of Jaswant Singh.—"When Jaswant died beyond the Attock, his wife, the (future) mother of Ajit, determined to burn with her lord, but being in the seventh month of her pregnancy, she was forcibly prevented by Uda Kumpawat.

¹ [This is a common legend, told of the Nikumbh Rājputs of the United Provinces (Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, iv. 87); by Bernier of Shāh Jahān and the Persian ambassador (p. 151 f.); of the Hatkars of the Deccan (BG, xvi. 56 note; Russell, *Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces*, i. 37 f.)]

² Achalgarh, or 'the immovable castle,' is the name of the fortress of the Deora princes of Abu and Sirohi, of which wonderful spot I purpose in another work to give a detailed account [58].

His other queen and seven Patras (concubines) mounted the pyre ; and as soon as the tidings reached Jodhpur, the Chandravati queen, taking a turban of her late lord, ascended the pile at Mandor. The Hindu race was in despair at the loss of the support of their faith. The bells of the temple were mute ; the sacred shell no longer sounded at sunrise ; the Brahmans vitiated their doctrines and learned the Muslim creed.”¹

Birth of Ajit Singh.—The queen was delivered of a boy, who received the name of Ajit. As soon as she was able to travel, the Rathor contingent, with their infant prince, his mother, the daughters, and establishment of their late sovereign, prepared to return to their native land. But the unrelenting tyrant, carrying his vengeance towards Jaswant even beyond the grave, as soon they reached Delhi, commanded that the infant should be surrendered to his custody. “Aurang offered to divide Maru amongst [59] them if they would surrender their prince ; but they replied, ‘Our country is with our sinews, and these can defend both it and our Lord.’ With eyes red with rage, they left the Amm-khass. Their abode was surrounded by the host of the Shah. In a basket of sweetmeats they sent away the young prince, and prepared to defend their honour ; they made oblations to the gods, took a double portion of opium, and mounted their steeds. Then spoke Ranchhor, and Govind the son of Jodha, and Chandarbhan the Darawat, and the son of Raghu, on whose shoulders the sword had been married at Ujjain, with the fearless Baharmall the Udawat, and the Sujawat, Raghunath. ‘Let us swim,’ they exclaimed, ‘in the ocean of fight. Let us root up these Asuras, and be carried by the Apsaras to the mansions of the sun.’ As thus each spoke, Suja the bard took the word : ‘For a day like this,’ said he, ‘you enjoy your siefs (*pallas*), to give in your lord’s cause your bodies to the sword, and in one mass to gain *swarga* (heaven). As for me, who enjoyed his friendship and his gifts, this day will I make his salt resplendent. My father’s fame will I uphold, and lead the death in this day’s fight, that future bards may hymn my praise.’ Then spake Durga, son of Asa : ‘The teeth of the Yavans are whetted, but by the lightning emitted from our swords, Delhi shall witness our deeds ; and the flame of our anger shall consume the troops of the Shah.’

¹ [Erskine (iii. A, 62) gives the story from local sources ; also see Elliot-Dowson vii. 297 f.]

As thus the chiefs communed, and the troops of the king approached, the Rajloka¹ of their late lord was sent to inhabit Swarga. Lance in hand, with faces resembling Yama,² the Rathors rushed upon the foe. Then the music of swords and shields commenced. Wave followed wave in the field of blood. Sankara³ completed his chaplet in the battle fought by the children of Duhar in the streets of Delhi. Ratna contended with nine thousand of the foe; but his sword failed, and as he fell, Rambha⁴ carried him away. Dila the Darawat made a gift of his life;⁵ the salt of his lord he mixed with the water of the field.⁶ Chandarbhan was conveyed by the [60] Apsaras to Chandrapur.⁷ The Bhatti was cut piecemeal and lay on the field beside the son of Surthan. The faithful Udawat appeared like the crimson lotus; he journeyed to Swarga to visit Jaswant. Sanda the bard, with a sword in either hand, was in the front of the battle, and gained the mansion of the moon.⁸ Every tribe and every clan performed its duty in this day's pilgrimage to the stream of the sword, in which Durgadas ground the foe and saved his honour."⁹

The Johar.—When these brave men saw that nothing short of the surrender of all that was dear to a Rajput was intended

¹ A delicate mode of naming the female part of Jaswant's family; the 'royal abode' included his young daughters, sent to inhabit heaven (*swarga*).

² Pluto.

³ 'The lord of the shell,' an epithet of Siva, as the god of war; his war-trump being a shell (*sankh*); his chaplet (*mala*), which the Rathor bard says was incomplete until this fight, being of human skulls. [Sankara, a title of Siva, means 'causing happiness,' and has no connexion with *sankh*, 'a shell.']

⁴ Queen of the Apsaras, or celestial nymphs.

⁵ Pope makes Sarpedon say:

"The life that others pay, let us bestow,
And give to fame what we to nature owe."

⁶ *I.e.* blood.

⁷ "The city of the moon."

⁸ The lunar abode seems that allotted for all bards, who never mention Bhanloka, or the 'mansion of the sun,' as a place of reward for them. Doubtless they could assign a reason for such a distinction.

⁹ This is but a short transcript of the poetic account of this battle, in which the deeds, name, and tribe of every warrior who fell are related. The heroes of Thermopylae had not a more brilliant theme for the bard. [Compare the more matter-of-fact accounts of Khāfi Khān, Elliot-Dowson (vii. 296 f.), and of Manucci (ii. 233 f.).]

by the fiend-like spirit of the king, their first thought was the preservation of their prince ; the next to secure their own honour and that of their late master. The means by which they accomplished this were terrific. The females of the deceased, together with their own wives and daughters, were placed in an apartment filled with gunpowder, and the torch applied—all was soon over. This sacrifice accomplished, their sole thought was to secure a niche in that immortal temple, which the Rajput bard, as well as the great minstrel of the west, peoples with “ youths who died, to be by poets sung.” For this, the Rajput’s anxiety has in all ages been so great, as often to defeat even the purpose of revenge, his object being to die gloriously rather than to inflict death ; assured that his name would never perish, but, preserved in “ immortal rhyme ” by the bard, would serve as the incentive to similar deeds. Accordingly, “ the battle fought by the sons of Duharia¹ in the streets of Delhi ” is one of the many themes of everlasting eulogy to the Rathors ; and the seventh of Sravan, S. 1736 (the second month of the Monsoon of A.D. 1680), is a sacred day in the calendar of Maru.

In the midst of this furious contest, the infant prince was saved. To avoid suspicion the heir of Maru, concealed in a basket of sweetmeats, was entrusted to a Muslim, who religiously executed his trust and conveyed him to the appointed spot, where he was joined by the gallant Durgadas with the survivors who had cut their way through all opposition, and who were doomed often to bleed for the prince thus miraculously preserved. It is pleasing to find that if to “ the leader [61] of the faithful,” the bigoted Aurangzeb, they owed so much misery, to one (and he of humble life), of the same faith, they owed the preservation of their line. The preserver of Ajit lived to witness his manhood and the redemption of his birthright, and to find that princes are not always ungrateful ; for he was distinguished at court, was never addressed but as *Kaka*, or uncle, by the prince ; and to the honour of his successors be it told, the lands then settled upon him are still enjoyed by his descendants.

The Youth of Ajit Singh. Campaign of Aurangzeb in Mārwar.
—With the sole surviving scion of Jaswant, the faithful Durga

¹ Here is another instance of the ancient patronymic being brought in by the bards, and it is thus they preserve the names and deeds of the worthies of past days. Rao Duhar was one of the earliest Rathor kings of Marwar.

and a few chosen friends repaired to the isolated rock of Abu, and placed him in a monastery of recluses. There the heir of Maru was reared in entire ignorance of his birth. Still rumours prevailed, that a son of Jaswant lived; that Durga and a few associates were his guardians; and this was enough for the loyal Rajput, who, confiding in the chieftain of Dunara, allowed the mere name of Dhani (lord) to be his rallying-word in the defence of his rights. These were soon threatened by a host of enemies, amongst whom were the Indhas, the ancient sovereigns of Maru, who saw an opening for the redemption of their birth-right, and for a short time displayed the flag of the Parihars on the walls of Mandor. While the Indhas were rejoicing at the recovery of their ancient capital, endeared to them by tradition, an attempt was made by Ratna,¹ the son of Amra Singh (whose tragical death has been related), to obtain the seat of power, Jodhpur. This attempt, instigated by the king, proved futile; and the clans, faithful to the memory of Jaswant and the name of Ajit, soon expelled the Indhas from Mandor, and drove the son of Amra to his castle of Nagor. It was then that Aurangzeb, in person, led his army into Maru; the capital was invested; it fell and was pillaged, and all the great towns in the plains, as Merta, Didwana, and Rohat, shared a similar fate. The emblems of religion were trampled under foot, the temples thrown down, mosques were erected on their site, and nothing short of the compulsory conversion to the tenets of Islam of every Rājput in Marwar would satisfy his revenge.² The consequences of this fanatical and impolitic conduct recoiled not only upon the emperor but his whole race, for it roused an opposition to this iron yoke, which ultimately broke it in pieces. The emperor promulgated that famous edict, the Jizya, against the whole Hindu race, which cemented into one compact union all who cherished either patriotism or religion. It was at this period of time, when the Rathors and Sesodias united [62] against the tyrant, that Rana

¹ [According to Musalmān authorities, the name of the son of Amar Singh was Indar Singh, not Ratan Singh (Jadunath Sarkar, *Life of Aurang-zib*, iii. 369).]

² [In 1679 Khān Jahān arrived from Jodhpur, bringing several cart-loads of idols pillaged from Hindu temples. It was ordered that some should be cast away into the out-offices, and the remainder to be placed beneath the steps of the Great Mosque, there to be trampled under foot (Elliot-Dowson vii. 187; Jadunath Sarkar iii. 323).]

Raj Singh indited that celebrated epistle, which is given in a preceding part of this work.¹

"Seventy thousand men," says the bard,² "under Tahawwur Khan, were commanded to destroy the Rajputs, and Aurang followed in person to Ajmer. The Mertia clan assembled, and advanced to Pushkar to oppose him. The battle was in front of the temple of Varaha, where the swords of the Mertias, always first in the fight, played the game of destruction on the heads of the Asuras. Here the Mertias were all slain on the 11th Bhadon, S. 1736.

"Tahawwur continued to advance. The inhabitants of Murdhar fled to the mountains. At Gura the brothers Rupa and Kumbha took post with their clan to oppose him; but they fell with twenty-five of their brethren. As the cloud pours water

¹ Vol. I. p. 442.

² It may be well to exhibit the manner in which the poetic annalist of Rajputana narrates such events, and to give them in his own language rather than in an epitome, by which not only the pith of the original would be lost, but the events themselves deprived of half their interest. The character of historic fidelity will thus be preserved from suspicion, which could scarcely be withheld if the narrative were exhibited in any but its native garb. This will also serve to sustain the Annals of Marwar, formed from a combination of such materials, and dispose the reader to acknowledge the impossibility of reducing such animated chronicles to the severe style of history. But more than all, it is with the design to prove what, in the preface of this work, the reader was compelled to take on credit; that the Rajput kingdoms were in no ages without such chronicles: and if we may not compare them with Froissart, or with Monstrelet, they may be allowed to compete with the Anglo-Saxon chronicles, and they certainly surpass those of Ulster. But we have stronger motives than even legitimate curiosity, in allowing the bard to tell his own tale of the thirty years' war of Rajputana; the desire which has animated this task from its commencement, to give a correct idea of the importance of these events, and to hold them up as a beacon to the present governors of these brave men. How well that elegant historian, Orme, appreciates their importance, as bearing on our own conduct in power, the reader will perceive by reference to his *Fragments* [ed. 1782, note i.], where he says, "There are no states or powers on the continent of India, with whom our nation has either connexion or concern, which do not owe the origin of their present condition to the reign of Aurangzeb, or to its influence on the reigns of his successors." It behoves us, therefore, to make ourselves acquainted with the causes as well as the characters of those who occasioned the downfall of our predecessors in the sovereignty of India. With this object in view, the bard shall tell his own tale from the birth of Ajit, in S. 1737, to 1767, when he had vanquished all opposition to Aurangzeb, and regained the throne of Maru.

upon the earth, so did Aurang pour his barbarians over the land. He remained but five days at Ajaidurg (Ajmer), and marched against Chitor. It fell : it appeared as if the heavens had fallen. Ajit was protected by the Rana, and the Rathors led the van in the host of the Sesodias. Seeing the strength of the Yavans, they shut up the young prince, like a flame confined in a vessel. Delhipat (the king of Delhi) came to Debari,¹ at whose pass he was opposed by Kumbha, Ugarsen, and Uda, all Rathors. While Aurangzeb attacked Udaipur, Azam was left at Chitor. Then the king learned that Durgadas had invaded Jalor ; he abandoned his conquest, and returned to Ajmer, sending Mukarrab Khan to aid Bihari at Jalor ; but Durga had raised contributions [63] (*dand*), and passed to Jodhpur, alike forced to contribute ; for the son of Indar Singh, on the part of the king, now commanded in Trikota (triple-peaked mount). Aurang Shah measured the heavens ; he determined to have but one faith in the land. Prince Akbar was sent to join Tahawwur Khan. Rapine and conflagration spread over the land. The country became a waste ; fear stalked triumphant. Providence had willed this affliction. The Indhas were put in possession of Jodhpur ; but were encountered at Ketapur and put to the sword by the Cham-pawats. Once more they lost the title of Raos of Murdardes, and thus the king's intentions of bestowing sovereignty on the Parihars were frustrated on the 13th day of Jeth, S. 1736.

Retreat of the Rathors.—"The Aravalli gave shelter to the Rathors. From its fastnesses they issued, and mowed down entire harvests of the Muslim, piling them in *khallas*.² Aurang had no repose. Jalor was invaded by one body, Siwana by another of the faithful chiefs of Ajit, whose *an* ³ daily increased, while Aurang's was seldom invoked. The king gave up the war against the Rana to send all his troops into Maru ; but the Rana, who provoked the rage of Aurang from granting refuge to Ajit, sent his troops under his own son, Bhim, who joined the Rathors, led by Indarbhan and Durgadas in Godwar. Prince Akbar and Tahawwur Khan advanced upon them, and a battle took place

¹ The cenotaph of these warriors still marks the spot where they fell, on the right on entering the portals.

² The heaps of grain thrashed in the open field, preparatory to being divided and housed, are termed *khallas*.

³ Oath of allegiance.

at Nadol. The Sesodias had the right. The combat was long and bloody. Prince Bhim fell at the head of the Mewaris: he was a noble bulwark to the Rathors.¹ Indarbhan was slain, with Jeth the Udawat, performing noble deeds; and Soning Durga did wonders on that day, the 14th Asoj, S. 1737" (the winter of A.D. 1681).

The Rebellion of Prince Akbar, A.D. 1681.—The gallant bearing of the Rajputs in this unequal combat, their desperate devotion to their country and prince, touched the soul of Prince Akbar, who had the magnanimity to commiserate the sufferings he was compelled to inflict, and to question the policy of his father towards these gallant vassals. Ambition came to the aid of compassion for the sufferings of the Rathors, and the persecution of the minor son of Jaswant. He opened his mind to Tahawwur Khan, and exposed the [64] disgrace of bearing arms in so unholy a warfare, and in severing from the crown such devoted and brave vassals as the Rathors. Tahawwur was gained over, and an embassy sent to Durgadas offering peace, and expressing a wish for a conference. Durga convened the chiefs, and disclosed the overture; but some suspected treachery in the prince, others selfish views on the part of Durga. To prevent the injurious operation of such suspicions, Durga observed, that if assent were not given to the meeting, it would be attributed to the base motive of fear. "Let us proceed in a body," said he, "to this conference; who ever heard of a cloud being caught?" They met; mutual views were developed; a treaty was concluded, and the meeting ended by Akbar waving the umbrella of regality over his head.² He coined in his own name; he established his own weights and measures. The poisoned intelligence was

¹ The Mowar chronicle claims a victory for the combined Rajput army, and relates a singular stratagem by which they gained it; but either I have overlooked it, or the Raj Vilas does not specify that Prince Bhim, son of the heroic Rana Raj, fell on this day, so glorious in the annals of both States. See Vol. I. p. 448. [According to Manucci (ii. 234) the Rāja "was obliged to cede to Aurangzeb a province and the town of Mairthā." According to another story, Aurangzeb offered the succession to Ajit Singh on condition that he was converted to Islām. The Emperor kept a counterfeit Ajit Singh in ward, and brought him up as a Musalmān, called him Muhammadi Rāj, and on his death he was buried as a Musalmān (Jadunath Sarkar iii. 374).]

² [On Akbar's rebellion see Jadunath Sarkar iii. 402 ff.]

poured into Aurang's ear at Ajmer ; his soul was troubled ; he had no rest ; he plucked his beard in grief when he heard that Durga and Akbar had united. Every Rathor in the land flocked to Akbar's standard. The house of Delhi was divided, and Govind ¹ again supported the Hindu faith.

The dethronement of the tyrant appeared inevitable. The scourge of the Rajputs was in their power, for he was almost alone and without the hope of succour. But his energies never forsook him ; he knew the character of his foes, and that on an emergency his grand auxiliary, stratagem, was equal to an army. As there is some variation both in the Mogul historian's account of this momentous transaction and in the annals of Mewar and Marwar,² we present the latter *verbatim* from the chronicle.

"Akbar, with multitudes of Rajputs, advanced upon Ajmer. But while Aurang prepared for the storm, the prince gave himself up to women and the song, placing everything in the hands of Tahawwur Khan. We are the slaves of fate ; puppets that dance as it pulls the strings. Tahawwur allowed himself to dream of treason ; it was whispered in his ear that if he could deliver Akbar to his father, high rewards would follow. At night he went privily to Aurangzeb, and thence wrote to the Rathors : 'I was the bond of union betwixt you and Akbar, but the dam which separated the waters has broken down. Father and son again are one. Consider the pledges, given and received, as restored, and depart for your own lands.' Having sealed this with his signet, and dispatched a messenger to the Rathors, he appeared before Aurangzeb to receive the fruit of his service. But his treason met its [65] reward, and before he could say, the imperial orders were obeyed, a blow of the mace from the hand of the monarch sent his soul to hell. At midnight the Dervesh messenger reached the Rathor camp ; he put the letter into their hand, which stated father and son were united ; and added from himself that Tahawwur Khan was slain. All was confusion ; the Rathors saddled and mounted, and moved a coss from Akbar's camp. The panic spread to his troops, who fled like the dried leaves of the sugar-cane when carried up in a whirlwind, while the prince was attending to the song and the wiles of the wanton."

¹ Krishna.

² [Orme, *Fragments*, ed. 1782, 142 ff. ; Khāfi Khān in Elliot-Dowson vii. 298 ff.]

The Rāthors abandon Akbar.—This narrative exemplifies most strongly the hasty unreflecting character of the Rajput, who always acts from the impulse of the moment. They did not even send to Akbar's camp, although close to their own, to inquire the truth or falsehood of the report, but saddled and did not halt until they were twenty miles asunder. It is true, that in these times of peril they did not know in whom to confide; and being headed by one of their own body, they could not tell how far he might be implicated in the treachery.

The next day they were undeceived by the junction of the prince, who, when made acquainted with the departure of his allies, and the treason and death of Tahawwur Khan, could scarcely collect a thousand men to abide by his fortunes. With these he followed his panic-struck allies, and threw himself and his family upon their hospitality and protection—an appeal never made in vain to the Rajput. The poetic account, by the bard Karnidhan, of the reception of the prince by the chivalry of Maru, is remarkably minute and spirited:—the warriors and senators enter into a solemn debate as to the conduct to be pursued to the prince now claiming *saran* (sanctuary), when the bard takes occasion to relate the pedigree and renown of the chiefs of every clan. Each chief delivers his sentiments in a speech full of information respecting their national customs and manners. It also displays a good picture of “the power of the swans, and the necessity of feeding them with pearls,” to enable them to sing with advantage. The council breaks up with the declaration of its determination to protect Akbar at all hazard, and Jetha, the brother of the head of the Champawats, is nominated to the charge of protector of Akbar's family. The gallant Durga, the Ulysses of the Rathors, is the manager of this dramatic convention, the details of which are wound up with an eulogy in true oriental hyperbole, in the Doric accents of Maru: [66]—

*Māi chā pūt jin,
Jehā Durgādās,
Band Murdhara rakhiyo
Vin thāmbhā ākās.¹*

¹ [The reading in the text is that of Dr. Tessitori. Major Luard's Pandit, questioning the Author's translation, says that the words *Band Murdharā ra rakhiyo* mean 'governed Mārwar well,' and that *bin thāmbh ākās*, 'the heavens without a prop,' refers to the ruler who was a minor.]

“ O mother ! produce such sons as Durgadas, who first supported the dam of Murdhara, and then propped the heavens.”

Character of Durgadās.—This model of a Rajput, as wise as he was brave, was the saviour of his country. To his suggestion it owed the preservation of its prince, and to a series of heroic deeds, his subsequent and more difficult salvation. Many anecdotes are extant recording the dread Aurangzeb had of this leader of the Rathors, one of which is amusing. The tyrant had commanded pictures to be drawn of two of the most mortal foes to his repose, Sivaji and Durga : “ Siva was drawn seated on a couch ; Durga in his ordinary position, on horseback, toasting *bātis*, or barley-cakes, with the point of his lance, on a fire of maize-stalks. Aurangzeb, at the first glance, exclaimed, ‘ I may entrap that fellow (meaning Sivaji), but this dog is born to be my bāne.’ ”

Durga at the head of his bands, together with young Akbar, moved towards the western extremity of the State, in hopes that they might lead the emperor in pursuit amongst the sandhills of the Luni ; but the wily monarch tried other arts, and first attempted to corrupt Durga. He sent him eight thousand gold mohurs,¹ which the Rajput instantly applied to the necessities of Akbar, who was deeply affected at this proof of devotion, and distributed a portion of it amongst Durga’s retainers. Aurangzeb, seeing the futility of this plan, sent a force in pursuit of his son, who, knowing he had no hope of mercy if he fell into his father’s hands, was anxious to place distance between them. Durga pledged himself for his safety, and relinquished all to ensure it. Making over the guardianship of young Ajit to his elder brother, Soning, and placing himself at the head of one thousand chosen men, he turned towards the south. The bard enumerates the names and families of all the chieftains of note who formed the bodyguard of prince Akbar in this desperate undertaking. The Champawats were the most numerous, but he specifies several of the home clans, as the Jodha and Mertia, and amongst the foreign Rajputs, the Jadon, Chauhan, Bhatti, Deora, Sonigira, and Mangalia [67].

Escape of Prince Akbar.—“ The king followed their retreat : his troops surrounded the Rathors ; but Durga with one thousand chosen men left the north on their backs, and with the speed of

¹ The Mewar chronicle says forty thousand.

the winged quitted the camp. Aurang continued the pursuit to Jalor, when he found he had been led on a wrong scent, and that Durga, with the prince, keeping Gujarat on his right, and Chappan¹ on his left, had made good his retreat to the Nerbudda. Rage so far got the better of his religion, that he threw the Koran at the head of the Almighty. In wrath, he commanded Azam to exterminate the Rathors, but to leave Udaipur on one side,² and every other design, and first secure his brother. The deeds of Kamunda³ removed the troubles of Mewar, as the wind disperses the clouds which shade the brightness of the moon. In ten days after Azam marched, the emperor himself moved, leaving his garrisons in Jodhpur and Ajmer. Durga's name was the charm which made the hosts of locusts quit their ground.⁴ Durga was the sea-serpent; Akbar the mountain with which they churned the ocean Aurang, and made him yield the fourteen gems, one of which our religion regained, which is Lakshmi, and our faith, which is Dhanwantari⁵ the sage.

"In fidelity who excelled the Khichis Sheo Singh and Mukund, who never left the person of Ajit, when his infancy was concealed in the mountains of Arbud? to them alone, and the faithful Sonigira, did Durga confide the secret of his retreat. The vassals of the Nine Castles of Maru knew that he was concealed; but where or in whose custody all were ignorant. Some thought he was at Jaisalmer; others at Bikampur; others at Sirohi. The eight divisions nobly supported the days of their exile; their sinews sustained the land of Murdhar. Raos, Rajas, and Ranas applauded their deeds, for all were alike enveloped in the net of destruction. In all the nine thousand [towns] of Murdhar, and the ten thousand of Mewar,⁶ inhabitants there were none. Inayat Khan was left with ten thousand men to preserve Jodhpur; but the Champawat is the Sumer⁷ of Maru, and without fear was Durga's brother, Soning. With Khemkaran the Karanot, and

¹ [The hill tract about Siwāna, in S. Mewār.]

² That is, dropped all schemes against it at that moment.

³ The Kamdhuj; epithet of the Rathors.

⁴ Charms and incantations, with music, are had recourse to, in order to cause the flight of these destructive insects from the fields they light on.

⁵ [The physician of the gods, born at the churning of the ocean.]

⁶ The number of towns and villages formerly constituting the arrondissement of each State.

⁷ [Meru, the sacred mountain.]

Sabhal the Jodha, Bijmall the Mahecha, Jethmall Sujot, Kesari Karanot, and the Jodha brethren Sheodan and Bhim, and many more collected their clans and kin, and as soon as they heard that the king was within four coss of Ajmer they blockaded the Khan [68] in the city of Jodha ; but twenty thousand Moguls came to the rescue. Another dreadful conflict ensued at the gates of Jodhpur, in which the Jadon Kishor, who led the battle, and many other chiefs were slain, yet not without many hundreds of the foe ; the 9th Asarh, S. 1737.

“ Soning carried the sword and the flame into every quarter. Aurang could neither advance nor retreat. He was like the serpent seizing the musk-rat, which, if liberated, caused blindness ; but if swallowed, was like poison. Harnath and Kana Singh took the road to Sojat. They surrounded and drove away the cattle, which brought the Asurs to the rescue. A dreadful strife ensued ; the chief of the Asurs was slain, but the brothers and all their kin bedewed the land with their blood. This, the *sakha* of Sojat, was when 1737 ended and 1738 commenced, when the sword and the pestilence (*mari*¹) united to clear the land.

¹ *Mari*, or ‘ death ’ personified, is the name for that fearful scourge the spasmodic cholera morbus, which has caused the loss of so many lives for the last thirteen years throughout India. It appears to have visited India often, of which we have given a frightful record in the Annals of Mewar in the reign of Rana Raj Singh (see Vol. I. p. 454), in S. 1717 or A.D. 1661 (twenty years prior to the period we treat of) ; and Orme [*Fragments*, ed. 1782, p. 200] describes it as raging in the Deccan in A.D. 1684. They had likewise a visitation of it within the memory of many individuals now living.

Regarding the nature of this disease, whether endemic, epidemic, or contagious, and its cure, we are as ignorant now as the first day of our experience. There have been hundreds of conflicting opinions and hypotheses, but none satisfactory. In India, nine medical men out of ten, as well as those not professional, deny its being contagious. At Udaipūr, the Rana’s only son, hermetically sealed in the palace against contact, was the first seized with the disorder ; a pretty strong proof that it was from atmospheric communication. He was also the last man in his father’s dominions likely, from predisposition, to be attacked, being one of the most athletic and prudent of his subjects. I saw him through the disorder. - We were afraid to administer remedies to the last heir of Bappa Rawal, but I hinted to Amarji, who was both bard and doctor, that strong doses of musk (12 grs. each) might be beneficial. These he had, and I prevented his having cold water to drink, and also checking the insensible perspiration by throwing off the bedclothes. Nothing but his robust frame and youth made him resist this tremendous assailant.

"Soning was the Rudra of the field ; Agra and Delhi trembled at his deeds ; he looked on Aurang as the waning moon. The king sent an embassy to Soning ; it was peace he desired. He offered the mansab of Sat Hazari for Ajit,¹ and what dignities he might demand for his brethren—the restoration of Ajmer, and to make Soning its governor. To the engagement was added, 'the panja is affixed in ratification of this treaty, witnessed by God Almighty.'² The Diwan, Asad Khan, was the negotiator, and the Aremdi,³ who was with him, solemnly swore to its maintenance. The treaty concluded, the king, whose thoughts could not be diverted from Akbar, departed for the Deccan. Asad Khan was left at Ajmer, and Soning at Merta [69]. But Soning was a thorn in the side of Aurangzeb ; he bribed the Brahmans, who threw pepper into the Homa (burnt sacrifice) and secured for Soning a place in Suraj Mandala (the mansion of the sun). The day following the treaty, by the incantations of Auranga, Soning was no more.⁴ Asoj the 6th, S. 1738.

"Asad sent the news to the king. This terror being removed, the king withdrew his *panja* from his treaty, and in joy departed for the Deccan. The death of Soning shed gloom and grief over the land. Then Mukund Singh Mertia, son of Kalyan, abandoned his mansab and joined his country's cause. A desperate encounter soon followed with the troops of Asad Khan near Merta, in which Ajit, the son of Bitaldas, who led the fight, was slain, with many of each clan, which gave joy to the Asurs, but grief to the faithful Rajput ; on the second day of the bright half of the moon of Kartik, S. 1738.

"Prince Azam was left with Asad Khan ; Inayat at Jodhpur ; and their garrisons were scattered over the land, as their tombs (*gor*) everywhere attest. The lord of Chandawal, Shambhu Kumpawat, now led the Rathors with Udang Singh Bakhshi, and Tejsi, the young son of Durga, the bracelet on the arm of Mahadeva, with Fateh Singh and Ram Singh, just returned from

¹ [A command of 7000 troops.]

² See Vol. I. p. 419, for an explanation of the *panja*—and the treaty which preceded this, made by Rana Raj Singh, the fourth article of which stipulates for terms to the minor son of Jaswant.

³ I know not what officer is meant by the Aremdi, sent to swear to the good faith of the king.

⁴ His death was said to be effected by incantations, most probably poison.

placing Akbar safely in the Deccan, and many other valiant Rathors.¹ They spread over the country even to Mewar, sacked Pur-Mandal, and slew the governor Kasim Khan."

These desultory and bloody affrays, though they kept the king's troops in perpetual alarm and lost them myriads of men, thinned the ranks of the defenders of Maru, who again took refuge in the Aravalli. From thence, watching every opportunity, they darted on their prey. On one occasion they fell upon the garrison of Jaitaran, which they routed and expelled, or as the chronicle quaintly says, "with the year 1739 they also fled." At the same time, the post of Sojat was carried by Bija Champawat, while the Jodhawats, under Ram Singh, kept their foes in play to the northward, and led by Udaibhan attacked the Mirza Nur Ali at Charai: "the contest lasted for three hours; the dead bodies of the Yavans lay in heaps in the Akhara; who even abandoned their Nakkaras."²

"After the affair of Jaitaran, when Udai Singh Champawat and Mohkam Singh Mertia were the leaders, they made a push for Gujarat, and had penetrated to [70] Kheralu,³ when they were attacked, pursued, and surrounded in the hills at Renpur, by Sayyid Muhammad, the Hakim of Gujarat. All night they stood to their arms. In the morning the sword rained and filled the cars of the Apsaras. Karan and Kesari were slain, with Gokuldas Bhatti, with all their civil officers, and Ram Singh himself renounced life on this day.⁴ But the Asurs pulled up the reins, having lost many men. Pali was also attacked in the month of Bhadon this year 1739; then the game of destruction was played with Nur Ali, three hundred Rathors against five hundred of the king's troops, which were routed, losing their leader, Afzal Khan, after a desperate struggle.

"Bala was the hero who drove the Yavan from this post. Udaya attacked the Sidi at Sojat. Jaitaran was again reinforced. In Baisakh, Mohkam Singh Mertia attacked the royal post at Merta, slew Sayyid Ali, and drove out the king's troops."

¹ Many were enumerated by the bardic chronicler, who would deem it sacrilege to omit a single name in the page of fame.

² [*Akhāra*, 'a place of wrestling,' rhyming with *nakkāra*, 'a kettle-drum.']

³ [In Baroda State, about 63 miles N. of Ahmadābād.]

⁴ He was one of the gallant chiefs who, with Durga, conveyed prince Akbar to the sanctuary with the Mahrattas.

Assistance given by the Bhattis.—The year 1739 was one of perpetual conflict, of captures and recaptures, in which many parties of twenty and thirty on each side fell. They afford numerous examples of heroic patriotism, in which Rathor blood was lavishly shed ; but while to them each warrior was a loss not to be replaced, the despot continued to feed the war with fresh troops. The Bhattis of Jaisalmer came forward this year, and nobly shed their blood in seconding the efforts of the Rathors in this patriotic warfare.

“ In S. 1740, Azam and Asad Khan joined the emperor in the Deccan, and Inayat Khan was left in command at Ajmer,—being enjoined not to relax the war in Marwar, even with the setting in of the rains. Merwara afforded a place of rendezvous for the Rathors, and security for their families. Here eleven thousand of the best troops of Inayat invaded the hills to attack the united Jodhas and Champawats, who retaliated on Pali, Sojat, and Godwar. The ancient Mandor, which was occupied by a garrison under Khwaja Salah, was attacked by the Mandecha Bhatti and driven out. At Bagri, a desperate encounter took place in the month of Baisakh, when Ram Singh and Samant Singh, both Bhatti chiefs, fell, with two hundred of their vassals, slaying one thousand of the Moguls. The Karamsots and Kumpawats, under Anup Singh, scoured the banks of the Luni, and put to the sword the garrisons of Ustara and Gangani. Mohkam, with his Mertias, made a descent on his patrimonial lands, and drew upon him the whole force of its [71] governor, Muhammad Ali. The Mertias met him on their own native plains. The Yavan proposed a truce, and at the interview assassinated the head of the Mertias, tidings of whose death rejoiced the Shah in the Deccan.

“ At the beginning of 1741, neither strife nor fear had abated. Sujan Singh led the Rathors in the south, while Lakha Champawat and Kesar Kumpawat, aided by the Bhattis and Chauhans, kept the garrison of Jodhpur in alarm. When Sujan was slain, the bard was sent to Sangram, who held a mansab and lands from the king ; he was implored to join his brethren ; he obeyed, and all collected around Sangram.¹ Siwancha² was attacked, and with Bhalotra and Panchbhadra were plundered ; while the

¹ We are not informed of what clan he was, or his rank, which must have been high.

² The tract so called, of which Siwana is the capital [in S. Mewār].

blockaded garrisons were unable to aid. An hour before sunset every gate of Maru was shut. The Asurs had the strongholds in their power ; but the plains resounded with the An¹ of Ajit. Udaibhan, with his Jodhawats, appeared before Bhadrājun ; he assaulted the foe and captured his guns and treasure. An attempt from Jodhpur made to recapture the trophies, added to the triumph of the Jodha.

Abduction of the Asāni Girls.—"Purdil Khan² held Siwana ; and Nahar Khan Mewati, Kunari. To attack them, the Champawats convened at Mokalsar. Their thirst for vengeance redoubled at the tidings that Nur Ali had abducted two young women of the tribe of Asani. Ratna led the Rathors ; they reached Kunari and engaged Purdil Khan, who was put to the sword with six hundred of his men. The Rathors left one hundred in the field that day, the ninth of Chait. The Mirza³ no sooner heard of this defeat than he fled towards Toda, with the Asani damsels, gazing on the mangoes as they ripened, and having reached Kuchal, he encamped. Subhal Singh, the son of Askaran, heard it ; he took his opium, and though the Mirza was surrounded by pillars, the dagger of Askaran's son reached his heart ; but the Bhatti⁴ was cut in pieces. The roads were now impassable ; the Thanas⁵ of the Yavans were reduced to great straits [72].

"The year 1742 commenced with the slaughter of the king's garrison at Sambhar by the Lakhawats and Asawats ;⁶ while from Godwar the chiefs made incursions to the gates of Ajmer. A battle took place at Merta, where the Rathors were defeated and dispersed ; but in revenge Sangram burned the suburbs of Jodhpur, and then came to Dunara, where once more the clans assembled. They marched, invested Jalor, when Bihari, left without succour, was compelled to capitulate, and the gate of honour (*dharmadwara*) was left open to him. And thus ended 1742."

¹ Oath of allegiance.

² It is almost superfluous to remark, even to the mere English reader, that whenever he meets the title Khan, it indicates a Muhammadan [and a Pathān] ; and that of Singh (lion) a Rajput.

³ Nur Ali. Mirza is a title only applied to a Mogul.

⁴ As a Bhatti revenged this disgrace, it is probable the Asani damsels, thus abducted by the Mirza, were of his own race.

⁵ Garrisons and military posts.

⁶ These are of the most ancient vassalage of Maru.

CHAPTER 8

Ajit Singh produced to the Rāthors, A.D. 1686.—“ In the year 1743, the Champawats, Kumpawats, Udawats, Mertias, Jodhas, Karamsots, and all the assembled clans of Maru, became impatient to see their sovereign. They sent for the Khichi Mukund, and prayed that they might but [73] behold him ; but the faithful to his trust replied : ‘ He,¹ who confided him to me, is yet in the Deccan.’—‘ Without the sight of our Lord, bread and water have no flavour.’ Mukund could not withstand their suit. The Hara prince Durjan Sal, having come to their aid with one thousand horse from Kotah,² they repaired to the hill of Abu, when on the last day of Chait 1743 they saw their prince. As the lotus expands at the sunbeam, so did the heart of each Rathor at the sight of their infant sovereign ; they drank his looks, even as the papiha in the month Asoj sips drops of amrita (ambrosia) from the Champa.³ There were present, Udai Singh, Sangram Singh, Bijaipal, Tej Singh, Mukund Singh, and Nahar son of Hari, all Champawats ; Raj Singh, Jagat Singh, Jeth Singh, Samant Singh, of the Udawats ; Ram Singh, Fateh Singh, and Kesari, Kumpawats. There was also the Uhar chief of pure descent,⁴ besides the Khichi Mukund, the Purohit, the Parihar, and the Jain priest, Yati Gyan, Bijai. In a fortunate hour, Ajit became known to the world. The Hara Rao first made his salutation ; he was followed by all Marwar with offerings of gold, pearls, and horses.

“ Inayat conveyed the tidings to Aurang Shah ; the Asur chief said to the king, ‘ If without a head so long they had combated him, what could now be expected ? ’ He demanded reinforcements.

¹ Meaning Durgadas.

² His principal object was to marry the daughter of Shujāwan Singh Champawat, the sister of the brave Mukund Singh, often mentioned in the chronicle. The Kotah prince dared not, according to every Rajput maxim of gallantry, refuse his aid on such occasion ; but the natural bravery and high mind of Durjan Sal required no stimulus.

³ The Hindu poet says the Papiha bird [the cuckoo] becomes intoxicated with the flowers [of the Champa (*Michelia champaka*)].

⁴ A name now lost.

Ajīt Singh installed.—“ In triumph they conveyed the young Raja to Awa, whose chief made the *bādhava*¹ with pearls, and presented him with horses ; here he was entertained, and here they prepared the *tika daur*.² Thence, taking Raepur, Bilara, and Barunda in his way, and receiving the homage and nazars of their chiefs, he repaired to Asop, where he was entertained by the head of the Kumpawats. From Asop he went to the Bhatti fief of Lawera ; thence to Rian, the chief abode of the Mertias ; thence to Khinwasar, of the Karanisots. Each chief entertained their young lord, around whom all the clans gathered. Then he repaired to Kalu, the abode of Pabhu Rao Dhandal,³ who came forth with all his bands ; and at length [74] he reached Pokaran, where he was joined by Durgadas from the Deccan, the 10th of Bhadon 1744.

“ Inayat Khan was alarmed. He assembled a numerous array to quell this fresh tumult, but death pounced upon him. The king was afflicted thereat. He tried another stratagem, and set up a pretended son of Jaswant, styled Muhammad Shah, and offered Ajit the mansab of five thousand to submit to his authority.⁴ The pretender also died as he set out for Jodhpur, and Shujaat Khan⁵ was made the governor of Marwar in place of Inayat. Now the Rathors and Haras united, having cleared Maru of their foes, attacked them in a foreign land. The garrisons of Malpura and Pur Mandal were put to the sword, and here the Hara prince was killed by a cannon shot in leading the storm. Here they levied eight thousand mohurs in contribution and returned to Marwar, while the civil officers and Purohits made collections in his country ; and thus passed 1744.

“ The year 1745 commenced with proposals from Shujaat Khan to hold Marwar in farm ; he promised one-fourth of all transit duties if the Rathors would respect foreign commerce : to this they agreed. The son of Inayat left Jodhpur for Delhi ; he had reached Renwal, but was overtaken by the Jodha Harnath,

¹ Waving a brass vessel, filled with pearls, round his head.

² [The inauguration foray. See Vol. I. p. 315.]

³ Pabhu Rao Rathor is immortalized by the aid of his lance on this occasion ; he was of the ancient chivalry of Maru, and still held his allodial domain.

⁴ [See p. 997 above.]

⁵ [His original name was Kārtalab Khān, and he served as viceroy of Surat and Gujarāt (Manucci ii. 259, iv. 247).]

who released him both of wives and wealth. The Khan fled to the Kachhwahas for shelter. Suja Beg, who left Ajmer to release him, fared no better : he was attacked, defeated, and plundered by Mukunddas Champawat.

War with the Mughals.—"In 1747, Safi Khan was Hakim of Ajmer : Durga determined to attack him. The Hakim took post in the pass which defends the road ; there Durga assailed him, and made him fly to Ajmer. The tidings reached the king ; he wrote to the Khan, if he discomfited Durgadas, he would raise him over all the Khans of the empire ; if he failed, he should send him bracelets,¹ and order Shujaat from Jodhpur to supersede him. Safi, before abandoning his trust, tried to retain his honours by the circumvention of Ajit. He addressed a letter to him, saying he held the imperial sanad for the restoration of his paternal domains, but that, as the king's representative, he must come and receive it. Ajit marched at the head of twenty thousand Rathors, sending in advance Mukund Champawat to observe whether any treachery was contemplated. The snare was discovered and reported to Ajit, as he arrived at the foot of the pass beyond the mountains. 'Let us, however, have [75] a sight of Ajaidurg as we are so near,' said the young prince, 'and receive the compliments of the Khan.' They moved on towards the city, and Safi Khan had no alternative but to pay his obeisance to Ajit. To enjoy his distress, one said, 'Let us fire the city.' The Hakim sat trembling for its safety and his own ; he brought forth jewels and horses which he presented to Ajit.

"In 1748, the troubles recommenced in Mewar. Prince Amra rebelled against his father, Rana Jai Singh, and was joined by all his chiefs. The Rana fled to Godwar, and at Ghanerao collected a force, which Amra prepared to attack. The Rana demanded succour of the Rathors, and all the Mertias hastened to relieve him ; and soon after Ajit sent Durgadas and Bhagwan, with Ranmall Jodha, and 'the eight ranks of Rathors,' to espouse the father's cause. But the Chondawats and Saktawats, the Jhalas and Chauhans, rather than admit foreign interference in their quarrel, thought it better to effect a reconciliation between father and son ; and thus the Rana was indebted to Marwar for the support of his throne.

Aurangzeb negotiates about Akbar's Daughter.—"The year

¹ A mark of contempt.

1749 passed in negotiation to obtain the daughter of prince Akbar, left in charge of Durgadas, for whose honour Aurangzeb was alarmed, as Ajit was reaching manhood ; Narayandas Kulumbi was the medium of negotiation, and Safi Khan caused all hostilities to cease while it lasted.

“ In 1750, the Muslim governors of Jodhpur, Jalor, and Siwana combined their forces against Ajit, who was again compelled to retreat to the mountains. Akha, the Bala, received their attack, but was defeated in the month of Magh. Another combat was hastened by the wanton slaughter of a *sand*,¹ when the Hakim of Chank, with all his train, were made prisoners at Mokalsar by the Champawat Mukanddas.

“ To such straits were the Muslims put in 1751, that many districts paid chauth, others tribute, and many, tired of this incessant warfare, and unable to conquer their bread, took service with the Rathors. This year, Kasim Khan and Lashkar Khan marched against Ajit, who took post at Bijaipur. Durga's son led the onset, and the Khan was defeated. With each year of Ajit grew the hopes of the Rathors ; while Aurangzeb was afflicted at each month's growth of his granddaughter. He wrote to Shujaat, the Hakim of Jodhpur, to secure his honour at whatever cost ; his applications for Akbar's daughter were unwearied [76].

Ajit Singh marries a Princess of Mewār.—“ This year the coconut studded with gems,² two elephants and ten steeds, all richly caparisoned, were sent by the Rana to affiancé the daughter of his younger brother, Gaj Singh, to Ajit. The present was accepted, and in the month of Jeth, the prince of the Rathors repaired to Udaipur, where the nuptials were solemnized. In Asarh he again married at Deolia.³

“ In 1753, negotiations were renewed through Durgadas, and the protracted restoration of the Sultani obtained the seat of his ancestors for the Jodhani. Durga was offered for himself the mansab of five thousand, which he refused ; he preferred that Jalor, Siwanchi, Sanchor, and Tharad⁴ should revert to his

¹ One of those pampered bulls, allowed to wander at liberty and fed by every one.

² The coco, the symbol of a marriage offer.

³ Partabgarh Deolia, a small principality grown out of Mewar [IGI, xx. 14].

⁴ [In the Pālanpur Agency, Bombay Presidency (IGI, xix. 346).]

country. Even Aurang admired the honourable and distinguished treatment of his granddaughter.

"In Pus 1757,¹ Ajit regained possession of his ancestral abode : on his reaching Jodhpur he slew a buffalo at each of its five gates.² The Shahzada Sultan led the way, Shujaat being dead.³

"In 1759, Azam Shah again seized on Jodhpur, and Ajit made Jalor his abode. Some of his chiefs now served the foe, some the Rana whose hopes were on Eklinga alone ; while the lord of Amber served the king in the Deccan. The enormities of the Asurs had reached their height ; the sacred kine were sacrificed even at Mathura, Prayag, and Okhamandal ; the Jogis and Bairagis invoked heaven for protection, but iniquity prevailed as the Hindu strength decayed. Prayers were everywhere offered up to heaven to cleanse the land from the iniquities of the barbarians.⁴ In this year, the month of Magh 1759, the Mithun Lagan (the 'sun in Gemini'), a son was born of the Chauhani, who was called Abhai Singh. (See end of this chapter, p. 1019, for the Horoscope of Abhai Singh.)

"In 1761, Yusuf was superseded by Murshid Kuli ás Hakim of Jodhpur. On his arrival he presented the royal sanad for the restoration of Merta to Ajit. Kusal Singh, the Mertia Sarmor, with the Dhandhal Govinddas, were ordered to [77] take the charge, which incensed the son of Indar (Mohkam Singh), who deemed his faithful service during his minority overlooked by this preference. He wrote to the king to nominate him to the command of Marwar, and that he would fulfil his charge to the satisfaction both of Hindu and Muslim.

"In 1761 the star of the foe began to decline. Murshid Kuli, the Mogul, was relieved by Jaafar Khan. Mohkam's letter was intercepted. He had turned traitor to his prince, and joined

¹ I cannot now call to mind whether this break of four years in the chronicle of the bard Karnidhan occurs in the original, or that in translating I left the hiatus from there being nothing interesting therein. The tyrant was now fully occupied in the Deccan wars, and the Rajputs had time to breathe.

² [To propitiate the gate spirit.]

³ This Shahzada must have been prince Azam, who was nominated viceroy of Gujarat and Marwar.

⁴ This record of the manifold injuries, civil and religious, under which the Hindu nation groaned is quite akin to the sentiments of the letter of remonstrance addressed by Rana Raj Singh to Aurangzeb. See Vol. I. p. 442.

the king's troops. Ajit marched against them ; he fought them at Dunara ; the king's troops were defeated, and the rebel Indhawāt was slain. This was in 1762.

Death of Aurangzeb, March 3, 1707.—“ In 1763, Ibrahim Khan, the king's lieutenant¹ at Lahore, passed through Marwar to relieve Azam in the vice-royalty of Gujarat. On the second day of Chait, the obscure half of the moon, the joyful tidings arrived of the death of the king.² On the fifth, Ajit took to horse ; he reached the town of Jodha, and sacrificed to the gates, but the Asurs feared to face him. Some hid their faces in fear, while others fled. The Mirza came down, and Ajit ascended to the halls of his ancestors. The wretched Yavans, now abandoned to the infuriated Rajputs smarting under twenty-six years of misery, found no mercy. In hopeless despair they fled, and the wealth which they had amassed by extortion and oppression returned to enrich the proprietor. The barbarians, in turn, were made captive ; they fought, were slaughtered and dispersed. Some sought *saran* (sanctuary), and found it ; even the barbarian leader himself threw fear to the winds in the unconcealed sanctuary of the Kumpawat. But the triumph of the Hindu was complete, when, to escape from perdition, their flying foes invoked Sitaram and Hargovind, begging their bread in the day, and taking to their heels at night. The chaplet of the Mulla served to count the name of Rama, and a handful of gold was given to have their beards removed.³ Nothing but the despair and flight of the Mlechchha was heard throughout Murdhar. Merta was evacuated, and the wounded Mohkam fled to Nagar. Sojat and Pali were regained, and the land returned to the Jodhani. Jodhgarh was purified from the contaminations of the barbarian with the water of the Ganges and the sacred Tulasi, and Ajit received the tilak of sovereignty.

“Then Azam marched from the south and Muazzam from the north. At Agra a [78] mighty battle for empire took place

¹ He is called the *samdhi*, or ‘son-in-law of the king.’ [There is no record of his marriage to a daughter of Aurangzeb (*IA*, xl. 83). It is the fathers of a bride and bridegroom who stand in the relation of *samdhi* to each other.]

² 5th Chait S. 1763. The 28th Zu-l-qā’ada [March 3, 1707].

³ The Rajputs gave up beards the better to distinguish them from the Muslims.

between the two Asurs, but Alam¹ prevailed and got the throne. The tidings soon reached the king, that Ajit had plundered his armies in Maru and taken possession of the 'cushion' of his fathers.

Campaign of Bahādur Shāh.—"The rainy season of 1764 had vanished, the king had no repose; he formed an army and came to Ajmer. Then Haridas, the son of Bhagwan, with the Uhar and Mangalia chiefs,² and Ratna the leader of the Udawats, with eight hundred of their clan, entered the castle and swore to Ajit, that whatever might be his intentions, they were resolved to maintain the castle to the death. The royal army encamped at Bhavi Bilara, and Ajit prepared for the storm; but the king was advised to try peaceful arts, and an overture was made, and the messenger was sent back to the king accompanied by Nahar Khan. The embassy returned bearing the royal farman to Ajit; but before he would accept it, he said he would view the royal army, and on the first day of Phalgun he left the hill of Jodha and reached Bisalpur. Here he was received by a deputation from the king, headed by Shujaat Khan, son of the Khankhanan accompanied by the Raja of the Bhadaurias and Rao Budh Singh of Bundi—the place of meeting was Pipar. That night passed in adjusting the terms of the treaty.³ The ensuing morn he marched forward at the head of all the men of Maru; and at Anandpur the eyes of the king of the barbarians (Mlechchha) fell on those of the lord of the earth. He gave him the title of Tegh Bahadur.⁴ But fate decreed that the city of Jodha was coveted by the king; by stealth he sent Mahrab Khan to take possession, accompanied by the traitor Mohkam. Ajit burned with rage when he heard of this treachery, but he was compelled to dissimulate and accompany Alam to the Deccan, and to serve

¹ Shah Alam, who assumed the title of Bahadur Shah on mounting the throne. [The battle in which Azam was defeated was fought on June 7, 1707.]

² The Mangalia is a branch of the Guhilots, severed from the original stem in the reign of Bappa Rawal eleven centuries ago.

³ [According to Khāfi Khān, the submission of Ajit Singh was complete; he even asked that the mosque at Jodhpur should be rebuilt, temples destroyed, and the law about the summons to prayer and the killing of cows enforced—concessions he would not have been likely to make unless he was reduced to extremities (Elliot-Dowson vii. 405).]

⁴ 'The warrior's sword.'

under Kambakhsh. Jai Singh of Amber¹ was also with the king, and had a like cause for discontent, a royal garrison being placed in Amber, and the *gaddi* of the Raja bestowed on his younger brother, Bijai Singh. Now the army rolled on like a sea overflowing its bounds. As soon as the king crossed the Nerbudda,² the Rajas executed their designs, and, without saying a word, at the head of their vassals retrograded to Rajwara. They repaired to Udaipur, and were received by Rana Amra with rejoicing and distinction [79], who advanced to conduct them to his capital. Seated together, the *chaunri* waving over their heads, they appeared like the Trianga,³ Brahma, Vishnu and Mahesa. From this hour the fortunes of the Asurs sunk, and virtue again began to show herself.⁴ From Udaipur the two Rajas passed to Marwar. They reached Awa, and here the Champawat Sangram, son of Udaibhan, spread the foot-carpet (*pagmanda*) for his lord.

“The month of Sawan 1765 set in, and the hopes of the Asur expired. Mahrab was in consternation when he heard that Ajit had returned to his native land. On the 7th the hall of Jodha was surrounded by thirty thousand Rathors. On the 12th the gate of honour was thrown open to Mahrab; he had to thank the son of Askaran⁵ for his life. He was allowed an honourable retreat, and Ajit once more entered the capital of Maru.

“Jai Singh encamped upon the banks of the Sur Sagar; but a prince without a country, he was unhappy. But as soon as the rains were passed, Ajmall, the sanctuary of the Kachhwaha, proposed to reinstate him in Amber. When conjoined they had reached Merta, Agra and Delhi trembled. When they arrived at Ajmer its governor sought *saran* with the saint,⁶ and paid the contributions demanded. Then, like the falcon, Ajit darted upon

¹ This is the Mirza Raja, Jai Singh—the posterior Jai Singh had the epithet *Sawai* [see Vol. II. p. 969].

² The Muslim historian mentions in Vol. I. p. 464, that Bahadur was then en route to Lahore.

³ Trianga, the triple-bodied, or *trimurti*.

⁴ The bard of Maru passes over the important fact of the intermarriage which took place on this occasion of the Rajput triple alliance. See Vol. I. p. 465.

⁵ Durgadas, who recommended the acceptance of the proffered capitulation.

⁶ The shrine of Khwaja Kutb.

Sambhar; and here the vassals of Amber repaired from all quarters to the standard of their lord. With twelve thousand men, the Sayyid advanced along the edge of the salt lake, to encounter Ajmall. The Kumpawat led the charge; a desperate battle ensued; Husain, with six thousand men, lay on the field, while the rest took to flight and sought refuge in the castle.¹ His lieutenant, the Parihar, chief Pandu,² here fell into the hands of Ajit; he then felt he had recovered Mandor. On intelligence of this history, the Asurs abandoned Amber, and having placed a garrison in Sambhar, in the month of Margsir, Ajit restored Jai Singh to Amber, and prepared to attack Bikaner. Ajit committed the administration of all civil affairs to the faithful Raghunath Bhandari, with the [80] title of Diwan. He was well qualified, both from his experience in civil affairs and from his valour as a soldier.

Death of Prince Kāmbakhsh.—"In Bhadon of the year 1766, Aurangzeb put to death Kambakhsh,³ and Jai Singh entered into negotiations with the king. Ajit now went against Nagor; but Indar Singh being without resource, came forth and embraced Ajit's feet, who bestowed Ladnun upon him as a heritage. But this satisfied not him who had been the lord of Nagor, and Indar carried his complaints to Delhi.⁴ The king was enraged—his threats reached the Rajas, who deemed it safe again to reunite. They met at Kolia near Didwana, and the king soon after reached Ajmer. Thence he sent his firmans and the panja as terms of friendship to the Rajas: Nahar Khan, Chela of the king, was the bearer. They were accepted, and on the 1st Asarh both the Rajas repaired to Ajmer. Here the king received them

¹ Although the Marwar chronicler takes all the credit of this action, it was fought by the combined Rajputs of the alliance. Vol. I. p. 466.

² Pandu is the squire, the shield-bearer, of the Rajputs.

³ Kambakhsh was the child of the old age of the tyrant Aurangzeb, by a Rajput princess. He appears to have held him in more affection than any of his other sons, as his letter on his death-bed to him testifies. See Vol. I. p. 439. [Kāmbakhsh was son of Bāi Udaipuri, who was probably a dancing girl, but one account states that she was a Georgian Christian, formerly in Dāra Shukoh's harem; she died in June 1707. Kāmbakhsh, born March 6, 1667, died from wounds received in battle with his brother Muazzam, fought near Haidarābād, Deccan, January 13, 1709.]

⁴ Indar Singh was the son of Amra, the eldest brother of Jaswant, and the father of Mohkam, who, being disappointed of the government of Merta, deserted to the king.

graciously, in the face of the world; to Ajit he presented the sanad of the Nine Castles of Maru, and to Jai Singh that of Amber. Having taken leave of the king, the two Rajas went on the *parab*¹ to the sacred lake of Pushkar. Here they separated for their respective domains, and Ajit reached Jodhpur in Sawan 1767. In this year he married a Gaur Rani, and thus quenched the feud caused by Arjun, who slew Amra Singh in the Ammkhass.² Then he went on a pilgrimage to Kurukshetra, the field of battle of the Mahabharata, and made his ablutions in the fountain of Bhishma.³ Thus 1767 passed away" [81].

¹ [The day on which the sun enters a new sign of the zodiac.]

² This is another of the numerous instances of contradictory feelings in the Rajput character. Amra, elder brother of Jaswant, was banished Marwar, lost his birthright, and was afterwards slain at court, as already related. His son, Indar Singh and grandson Mohkam, from Nagor, which they held in separate grants from the king, never forgot their title as elder branch of the family, and eternally contested their claim against Ajit. Still, as a Rathor, he was bound to avenge the injuries of a Rathor, even though his personal foe.—Singular inconsistency!

³ There is an anecdote regarding the fountain of this classic field of strife, the Troad of Rajasthan, which well exemplifies the superstitious belief of the warlike Rajput. The emperor Bahadur Shah was desirous to visit this scene of the exploits of the heroes of antiquity, stimulated, no doubt, by his Rajputni queen, or his mother, also of this race. He was seated under a tree which shaded the sacred fount, named after the great leader of the Kauravas, his queen by his side, surrounded by *kanats* to hide them from profane eyes, when a vulture perched upon the tree with a bone in its beak, which falling in the fountain, the bird set up a scream of laughter. The king looked up in astonishment, which was greatly increased when the vulture addressed him in human accents, saying "that in a former birth she was a Jogini, and was in the field of slaughter of the Great War, whence she flew away with the dis severed arm of one of its mighty warriors, with which she alighted on that very tree, that the arm was encumbered with a ponderous golden bracelet, in which, as an amulet, were set thirteen brilliant symbols of Siva, and that after devouring the flesh, she dropped the bracelet, which fell into the fountain, and it was this awakened coincidence which had caused the scream of laughter." We must suppose that this, the *palada* of the field of slaughter, spoke Sanskrit or its dialect, interpreted by his Rajput queen. Instantly the pioneers were commanded to clear the fountain, and behold the relic of the Mahabharata, with the symbolic emblems of the god all-perfect! and so large were they, that the emperor remarked they would answer excellently well for "slaves of the carpet."* The Hindu princes then present, among whom were the Rajas Ajit and Jai Singh, were shocked at this levity, and each entreated of the king one of

* [The weights which keep it down.]

Eulogy of Durgadās.—Here let us, for a while, suspend the narrative of the chronicler, and take a retrospective glance at the transactions of the Rathors, from the year 1737 [A.D. 1680], the period of Raja Jaswant's death at Kabul, to the restoration of Ajit, presenting a continuous conflict of thirty years' duration. In vain might we search the annals of any other nation for such inflexible devotion as marked the Rathor character through this period of strife, during which, to use their own phrase, "hardly a chieftain died on his pallet." Let those who deem the Hindu warrior void of patriotism read the rude chronicle of this thirty years' war; let them compare it with that of any other country, and do justice to the magnanimous Rajput. This narrative, the simplicity of which is the best voucher for its authenticity, presents an uninterrupted record of patriotism and disinterested loyalty. It was a period when the sacrifice of these principles was rewarded by the tyrant king with the highest honours of the state; nor are we without instances of the temptation being too strong to be withstood; but they are rare, and serve only to exhibit, in more pleasing colours, the virtues of the tribe which spurned the attempts at seduction. What a splendid example is the heroic Durgadas of all that constitutes the glory of the Rajput! Valour, loyalty, integrity, combined with prudence in all the difficulties which surrounded him, are qualities which entitle him to the admiration which his memory continues to enjoy. The temptations held out to him were almost irresistible: not merely the

the phallic symbols. The Mirza Raja obtained two, and both are yet at Jaipur, one in the Temple of Silah Devi,* the other in that of Govinda. Ajit had one, still preserved and worshipped at the shrine of Girdhari at Jodhpur. My old tutor and friend, the Yati Gyanchandra, who told the story while he read the chronicles as I translated them, has often seen and made homage to all the three relics. There is one, he believed, at Bundi or Kotah, and the Rana by some means obtained another. They are of pure rock crystal, and as each weighs some pounds, there must have been giants in the days of the Bharat, to have supported thirteen in one armlet. Homer's heroes were pigmies to the Kauravas, whose bracelet we may doubt if Ajax could have lifted. My venerable tutor, though liberal in his opinions, did not choose to dissent from the general belief, for man, he said, had beyond a doubt greatly degenerated since the heroic ages, and was rapidly approximating to the period, the immediate forerunner of a universal renovation, when only dwarfs would creep over the land.

* The goddess of arms, their Pallas.

gold, which he and thousands of his brethren would alike have spurned, but the splendid offer of power in the proffered mansab of five thousand, which would at once have lifted him from his vassal condition to an equality with the [82] princes and chief nobles of the land. Durga had, indeed, but to name his reward ; but, as the bard justly says, he was *amol*, beyond all price, *anokha*, unique. Not even revenge, so dear to the Rajput, turned him aside from the dictates of true honour. The foul assassination of his brother, the brave Soning, effected through his enemies, made no alteration in his humanity whenever the chance of war placed his foe in his power ; and in this, his policy seconded his virtue. His chivalrous conduct, in the extrication of prince Akbar from inevitable destruction had he fallen into his father's hands, was only surpassed by his generous and delicate behaviour towards the prince's family, which was left in his care, forming a marked contrast to that of the enemies of his faith on similar occasions. The virtue of the granddaughter of Aurangzeb, in the sanctuary (*saran*) of Dunara,¹ was in far better keeping than in the trebly-walled harem of Agra. Of his energetic mind, and the control he exerted over those of his confiding brethren, what a proof is given, in his preserving the secret of the abode of his prince throughout the six first years of his infancy ! But, to conclude our eulogy in the words of their bard : he has reaped the immortality destined for good deeds ; his memory is cherished, his actions are the theme of constant praise, and his picture on his white horse, old, yet in vigour, is familiar amongst the collections of portraits of Rajputana.²

But there was not a clan, or family, that did not produce men of worth in this protracted warfare, which incited constant emulation ; and the bards of each had abundant materials to emblazon the pages of their chronicles. To the recollection of these, their expatriated descendants allude in the memorial³ of their hardships from the cruel policy of the reigning chief, the last lineal descendant of the prince, whose history has just been narrated. We now resume the narrative in the language of the chronicle [83].

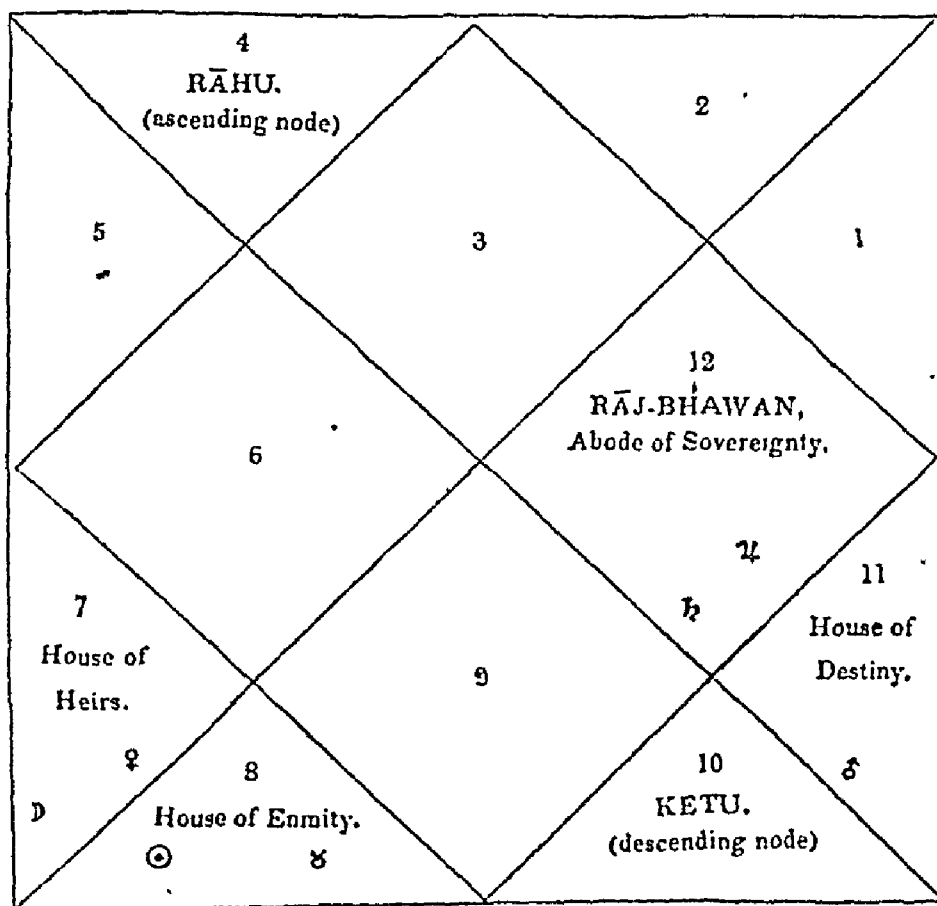
¹ Durga's fief on the Luni.

² See Vol. I. p. 451.

³ See Vol. I. p. 228.

HOROSCOPE OF RAJA ABHAI SINGH

In the Janampatri, or horoscope of Abhai Singh (referred to in p. 1011), the 4th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th, and 12th houses denote the destinies of the heir of Ajit. In the 4th we have the monster Rahu, the author of eclipses. Of the 7th, or house of heirs, the Moon and Venus have taken possession; of the 8th, or house of strife, the Sun and Mercury. In the 10th is Ketu, brother of Rahu, both signs of evil portent. Mars rides in the house of fate, while Saturn and Jupiter are together in the abode of sovereignty. Like that of every man living, the horoscope of the heir of Maru is filled with good and evil: could the Jotishi or astrological seer have put the parricidal sign in the house of destiny, he might have claimed some merit for superior intelligence. Those who have ever consulted any works on this foolish pursuit will observe that the diagrams of the European astrologers are exact copies of the Hindu, in proof of which I have inserted this; to trace darkness as well as light from the East!



CHAPTER 9

Ajit Singh attacks Nāhan.—“ In 1768 Ajit was sent against Nahan ¹ and the chiefs of the snowy mountains, whom he reduced to obedience. Thence he went to the Ganges, where he performed his ablutions, and in the spring he returned to Jodhpur.

“ In 1769 Shah Alam ² went to heaven. The torch of discord was lighted by his sons, with which they fired their own dwelling. Azim-ush-shan was slain,³ and the umbrella of royalty waved over the head of Muizzu-d-din.⁴ Ajit sent the Bhandari Kaimsi to the presence, who returned with the sanad of the vice-royalty of Gujarat. In the month of Margsir 1769, he prepared an army to take possession of the *Sattras*,⁵ when fresh dissensions broke out in the house of the Chagatai. The Sayyids slew Muizzu-d-din, and Farrukhsiyar became king.⁶ Zulfikar Khan was [85] put to death,⁷ and with him departed the strength of the Moguls. Then the Sayyids became headstrong. Ajit was commanded to send his son, Abhai Singh, now seventeen years of age, with his contingent, to court; but Ajit having learned that the traitor Mukund was there and in great favour, sent a trusty band, who slew him even in the middle of Delhi. This daring act brought the Sayyid with an army to Jodhpur.⁸ Ajit sent off the men of wealth to Siwanah, and his son and family to the desert of Rardarra.⁹ The capital was invested, and Abhai

¹ [Now known as Sirmūr, a Hill State in the Panjāb, on the W. bank of the Jumna, and E. of Simla (*IGI*, xxiii. 3).]

² [Kutbu-d-dīn Shāh ‘Alam, Bahādur Shah I., died at Lahore, February 17, 1712.]

³ [Azimu-sh-shān was drowned in the river Rāvi, after the battle between Jahāndār Shāh and his other brothers, in February 1712.]

⁴ [Muizzu-d-dīn Jahāndār Shāh, crowned Emperor at Lahore, April 10, 1712, was murdered in 1713, and was buried at Humāyūn’s tomb, Delhi.]

⁵ The “seventeen thousand” towns of Gujarat.

⁶ [On January 9, 1713.]

⁷ [Zulfikār Khān, Nasrat Jang, was strangled in January 1713.]

⁸ [The chronicler is reticent about this campaign which was carried out by Husain Ali Khān and the emperor’s maternal uncle Shāista Khān. It was caused by the expulsion of Mughals from Mārwar by Ajit Singh (Khāfi Khān in Elliot-Dowson vii. 446 f.).]

⁹ The tract west of the Luni.

Singh demanded as a hostage for the conduct of Ajit, who was also commanded to court. To neither was the Raja inclined, but the advice of the Diwan and still more of Kesar the bard, who gave as a precedent the instance of Rao Ganga when invaded by the Lodi, Daulat Khan, who entrusted his affairs to his son Maldeo, was unanimously approved.¹ Abhai Singh was recalled from Rardarra, and marched with Husain Ali to Delhi, the end of Asarh 1770. The heir of Maru received the mansab of five thousand from the king.

“Ajit followed his son to the court, then held at Delhi. There the sight of the altars raised over the ashes of chiefs who had perished to preserve him in his infancy, kindled all his wrath, and he meditated revenge on the whole house of Timur. Four distinct causes for displeasure had Ajmall :—

“1. The Nauroza.²

“2. The compulsory marriage of their daughters with the king.

“3. The killing of kine.

“4. The Jizya, or capitation tax.”³

Ajit Singh marries his Daughter to Farrukhsiyar, A.D. 1716.—Here we must interrupt the narrative, in order to supply an important omission of the bard, who slurs over the hardest of the conditions demanded of Ajit on the invasion of the Sayyid, namely, the giving a daughter to Farrukhsiyar, the important political results of which are already related in the first part of this work.⁴ This compulsory marriage only aggravated Ajit's desire of vengeance, and he entered into the views of the Sayyids with the true spirit of his father; obtaining meanwhile, as the price of coalition, the compliance with the specified demands, besides others of less moment, such as “that the bell for prayer should be allowed to toll in the [86] quarters of the city allotted to the Rajputs, and that their temples should be held sacred; and last, but not least, the aggrandisement of his hereditary dominions.” Let us again recur to the chronicle.

“In Jeth 1771, having secured all his wishes, Ajit left the court, and with the renewed patent as viceroy of Gujarat, returned to

¹ They slur over the most important demand—a daughter to wife to the king—it is at this Ajit hesitates, and for which the precedent is given.

² See Vol. I. p. 400. ³ Described Vol. I. p. 441. ⁴ Vol. I. p. 468.

Jodhpur. Through Kaimsi, his minister, the jizya was repealed. The Hindu race owed eternal obligation to the Mor (crown) of Murdhar, the sanctuary of princes in distress.

Ajit Singh, Viceroy of Gujarāt, A.D. 1715–16.—"In 1772, Ajit prepared to visit this government: Abhai Singh accompanied his father. He first proceeded to Jalor, where he passed the rainy season. Thence he attacked the Mewasa:¹ first Nimaj, which he took, when the Deoras paid him tribute. Firoz Khan advanced from Palanpur to meet him. The Rao of Tharad paid a lakh of rupees. Cambay was invested and paid; and the Koli chief, Kemkaran, was reduced. From Patan, Sakta the Champawat, with Bija Bhandari, sent the year preceding to manage the province, came forth to meet him.

"In 1773, Ajit reduced the Jhala of Halwad, and Jam of Nawanagar, who paid as tribute three laes of rupees, with twenty-five choice steeds;² and having settled the province, he worshipped at Dwarka, and bathed in the Gomati.³ Thence he returned to Jodhpur, where he learned that Indar Singh had regained Nagor; but he stood not before Ajit.

Ajit Singh visits Delhi.—"The year 1774 had now arrived. The Sayyids and their opponents were engaged in civil strife. Husain Ali was in the Deccan, and the mind of Abdulla was alienated from the king. Paper on paper came, inviting Ajit. He marched by Nagor, Merta, Pushkar, Marot, and Sambhar, whose garrisons he strengthened, to Delhi. From Marot he sent Abhai Singh back to take care of Jodhpur. The Sayyid advanced from Delhi to meet the Dhani (lord) of Marwar, who alighted at

¹ Mewasa is a term given to the fastnesses in the mountains, which the aboriginal tribes, Kolis, Minas, and Mers, and not unfrequently the Rajputs, make their retreats; and in the present instance the bard alludes to the Mewasa of the Deoras of Sirohi and Abu, which has annoyed the descendants of Ajit to this hour, and has served to maintain the independence of this Chauhan tribe.

² [Tharād in Pālanpur Agency, Bombay (*IGI*, xix. 346); Halwad in Kāthiāwār (*ibid.* viii. 13); Nawanagar in Kāthiāwār, the ruler, known as the Jām (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 447), being a Jādeja Rājput (*IGI*, xviii. 419 ff.).]

³ This is all in the district of Okha (Okhamandala), where the Vadhels fixed themselves on the migration of Siahji from Kanauj. It would have been instructive had the bard deigned to have given us any account of the recognition which this visit occasioned, and which beyond a doubt caused the "books of Chronicles and Kings" to be opened and referred to.

Allahwirdi's sarai. Here the Sayyid and Ajit formed a league to oppose Jai Singh and the Moguls, while the king remained like a snake coiled up in a closed vessel. To get rid of their chief opponent, Zu-l-faqar Khan, was first determined [87].

"When the king heard that Ajit had reached Delhi, he sent the Hara Rao Bhim of Kotāh, and Khandauran Khan to introduce him to the presence. Ajit obeyed. Besides his own Rathors, he was accompanied by Rao Bishan Singh of Jaisalmer, and Padam Singh of Derawar, with Fateh Singh, a noble of Mewar, Man Singh, Rathor, chief of Sita Mhau, and the Chandarawat, Gopal of Rampura, besides Udai Singh of Kandela, Sakat Singh of Manoharpur, Kishan of Kalchipur, and many others.¹ The meeting took place at the Moti Bagh. The king bestowed the mansab of Haft Hazari (seven thousand horse) on Ajit, and added a crore of dams to his rent-roll. He presented him with the insignia of the Mahi Muratib,² with elephants and horses, a sword and dagger, a diamond aigrette (*sarpech*) and plume, and a double string of pearls. Having left the presence, Ajit went to visit Abdulla Khan. The Sayyid advanced to meet him, and his reception, with his attendants, was distinguished. They renewed their determination to stand or fall together. Their conference caused dismay to the Moguls, who lay in ambush to put Ajit to death.

"On the second day of the bright moon of Pus, 1775 [A.D. 1718], the king honoured Ajit with a visit. Ajit seated the king on a throne formed of bags of rupees to the amount of one lakh,³ and presented elephants, horses, and all that was precious. In the month of Phalgun, Ajit and the Sayyid went to visit the king; and after the conference wrote to Husain Ali revealing their plans, and desiring his rapid march to unite with them from the Deccan. Now the heavens assumed portentous appearances; the Disasul⁴ was red and fiery; jackasses brayed un-

¹ This list well exemplifies the tone now assumed by the Rathors; but this grand feudal assemblage was in virtue of his office of viceroy of Gujarat. Each and all of these chieftainships the author is as familiar with as with the pen he now holds.

² [The fish symbol, for which see Sleeman, *Rambles*, 137 f. James Skinner, who recovered Mahādāji Sindhia's order in a fight with the Rājputs, speaks of it as "a brass fish with two chources (*chaunri*, horse-hair or yak tails) hanging to it like mustachios" (Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, 33).]

³ £10,000 to £12,000.

⁴ Omen of the quarter.

usually; dogs barked; thunder rolled without a cloud; the court, late so gay, was now sad and gloomy; all were forebodings of change at Delhi. In twenty days, Husain reached Delhi; his countenance was terrific; his drum, which now beat close to the palace, was the knell of falling greatness. He was accompanied by myriads of horse. Delhi was enveloped in the dust raised by his hostile steeds. They encamped in the north of the city, and Husain joined Ajit and his brother. The trembling king sent congratulations and gifts; the Mogul chiefs kept aloof in their abodes; even as the quail cowers in the grass when the falcon hovers over it, so did the Moguls when Husain reached Delhi.¹ The lord of Amber was like a lamp left without oil [88].

The Revolution at Delhi.—"On the second day, all convened at Ajit's tents, on the banks of the Jumna, to execute the plans now determined upon. Ajit mounted his steed; at the head of his Rathors he marched direct to the palace, and at every post he placed his own men: he looked like the fire destined to cause *pralaya*.² When the sun appears darkness flies; when the oil fails the lamp goes out: so is it with crowns and kings, when good faith and justice, the oil that feeds their power, is wanting. The crash which shivered the umbrella of Delhi reverberated throughout the land. The royal treasures were plundered. None amidst the Moguls came forward to rescue their king (Farrukhsiyar), and Jai Singh fled from the scene of destruction. Another king was set up, but in four months he was seized with a distemper and died. Then Daula³ was placed on the throne. But the Moguls at Delhi set up Neko Shah⁴ at Agra, and Husain marched against them, leaving Ajit and Abdulla with the king.⁵

¹ [For an account of these transactions see Keene, *Sketch of the History of Hindustan*, 287 ff.]

² The final doom.

³ [Farrukhsiyar was murdered in prison, and two sickly youths were placed in succession on the throne by the Sayyids—Rafiu-d-darajāt and Rafiu-d-daula—the first of whom died on May 31, the second on September 6, 1719.]

⁴ [Nekosiyar, son of Muhammad Akbar, youngest son of Aurangzeb, who was defeated and taken prisoner by the Sayyids (Keene, *op. cit.* 299).]

⁵ This is both minutely and faithfully related, and fully as much so as the Muhammadan record of this black deed. We have already (Vol. I. p. 475) described it, and given a translation of an autograph letter of the prince of Amber, written on this memorable day. The importance of the transaction, as well as the desire to show the Bardic version, will justify its repetition.

Muhammad Shah, Emperor, A.D. 1719-48.—“ In 1776, Ajit and the Sayyid moved from Delhi ; but the Moguls surrendered Neko Shah, who was confined in Salimgarh. At this time the king died, and Ajit and the Sayyids made another, and placed Muhammad Shah on the throne. Many countries were destroyed, and many were made to flourish, during the dethronement of kings by Ajit. With the death of Farrukhsiyar Jai Singh's views were crushed, and the Sayyids determined to punish him. The lord of Amber was like water carried in a platter.¹ The king reached the Dargah at Sikri, in progress to Amber, and here the chieftains sought the *saran* (sanctuary) of Ajit. They said the Kurma² was lost if he protected them not against the Sayyids. Even as Krishna saved Arjun in the Bharat, so did Ajit take Jai Singh under his protection. He sent the chiefs of the Champawats and his minister to dispel his fears ; they returned with the lord of Amber, who felt like one who had escaped the doom (*pralaya*). Ajit placed one monarch on the throne, and saved another from destruction. The king bestowed upon him the grant of Ahmadabad, and gave him permission to visit his home. With Jai Singh of Amber, and Budh Singh Hara of Bundi, he marched for Jodhpur, and in the way contracted a marriage with the daughter of the Shaikhavat [89] chief of Manoharpur. In the month of Asin he reached Jodhagir, when the lord of Amber encamped at Sur Sagar, and the Hara Rao north of the town.

Ajit Singh marries his Daughter to Jai Singh.—“ The cold season had fled ; the spring (*basant*) approached. The peacock was intoxicated with the nectar-drops distilled from the sweet-blossomed *amba* (mango) ; the rich sap exuded ; the humming-bees clustered round the flowers ; new leaves budded forth ; songs of joy resounded ; the hearts of gods, men, and women expanded with mirth. It was then the lord of Amber was bedecked in saffron robes, to espouse the ‘ virgin of the sun ’ (Surya Kumari), the child of Ajit. On this he had consulted the Champawats, and according to ancient usage, the Ad-Pardhan, or chief minister, the Kumpawat : likewise the Bhandari Diwan, and the Guru. But were I to dwell on these festivities, this book would become too large ; I therefore say but little !

¹ In allusion to his vacillation, for which the Mirza Rāja was notorious.

² [That is to say, the Kachhwāha Rāja.]

The Assassination of the Sayyids. Ajit Singh asserts his Independence.—“The rains of 1777 set in, and Jai Singh and Budh Singh remained with Ajit, when a messenger arrived with tidings that the Moguls had assassinated the Sayyids, and were now on the watch for Ajit.¹ He drew his sword, and swore he would possess himself of Ajmer. He dismissed the lord of Amber. In twelve days after Ajit reached Merta. In the face of day he drove the Muslim from Ajmer and made it his own. He slew the king's governor and seized on Taragarh.² Once more the bell of prayers was heard in the temple, while the *bang*³ of the Masjid was silent. Where the Koran was read, the Puran was now heard, and the Mandir took the place of the Mosque. The Kazi made way for the Brahman, and the pit of burnt sacrifice (*homa*) was dug, where the sacred kine were slain. He took possession of the salt lakes of Sambhar and Didwana, and the records were always moist with inserting fresh conquests. Ajit ascended his own throne; the umbrella of supremacy he waved over his head. He coined in his own name, established his own *gaz* (measure), and *ser* (weight), his own courts of justice, and a new scale of rank for his chiefs, with nalkis and mace-bearers, naubats and standards, and every emblem of sovereign rule. Ajmall in Ajmer was equal to Aspati in Delhi.⁴ The intelligence spread over the land; it reached even Mecca [90] and Iran, that Ajit had exalted his own faith, while the rites of Islam were prohibited throughout the land of Maru.

Imperialist Attack on Ajmer.—“In 1778 the king determined to regain Ajmer. He gave the command to Muzaffar, who in the rains advanced towards Marwar. Ajit entrusted the conduct of this war to his son, the ‘shield of Maru,’ the ‘fearless’ (Abhai), with the eight great vassals, and thirty thousand horse; the

¹ [For this revolution see Elliot-Dowson vii. 474 ff.]

² The *Star Fort*, the castle of Ajmer.

³ The call to prayer of the Muslim.

⁴ This exact imitation of the manners of the imperial court is still strictly maintained at Jodhpur. The account of the measures which followed the possession of Ajmer is taken from the chronicle *Surya Prakas*; the only part not entirely translated from the *Raj Rupak Akhyat*. Ajmall is a licence of the poet, where it suits his rhyme, for Ajit. Aspati, ‘lord of steeds,’ is the common epithet applied to the emperors of Delhi. It is, however, but the second degree of paramount power—Gajpati, ‘lord of elephants,’ is the first.

Champawats on the right, the Kumpawats on the left, while the Karamsots, Mertias, Jodhas, Indhas, Bhattis, Sonigiras, Deoras, Khichis, Dhondals and Gogawats,¹ composed the main body. At Amber, the Rathors and imperialists came in sight; but Muzaffar disgraced himself, and retired within that city without risking an encounter. Abhai Singh, exasperated at this display of pusillanimous bravado, determined to punish the king. He attacked Shahjahanpur, sacked Narnol, levied contributions on Patan (Tuarvati) and Rewari.² He gave the villages to the flames, and spread conflagration and consternation even to Allahwirdi's Sarai. Delhi and Agra trembled with affright; the Asurs fled without their shoes at the deeds of Abhai, whom they styled Dhonkal, 'the exterminator.' He returned by Sambhar and Ludhana, and here he married the daughter of the chief of the Narukas.³

Muhammad Shah attacks Ajit Singh.—"In 1779, Abhai Singh remained at Sambhar, which he strengthened, and hither his father Ajit came from Ajmer. The meeting was like that between 'Kasyapa and Surya';⁴ for he had broken the bow of Muzaffar and made the Hindu happy. The king sent his Chela, Nahar Khan, to expostulate with Ajit; but his language was offensive, and the field of Sambhar devoured the tiger lord (Nahar Khan) and his four thousand followers. The son of Churaman the Jat⁵ now claimed sanctuary with Ajit. Sick of these dissensions, the unhappy Muhammad Shah determined to abandon his crown and retire to Mecca. But, determined to revenge the death of Nahar Khan, he prepared a formidable army. He collected [the contingents of] the twenty-two Šatrapas⁶ of the empire, and placed at their head Jai Singh of Amber, Haidar Kuli, Iradat

¹ The two latter tribes are amongst the most ancient of the allodial chieftains of the desert: the Dhondals being descendants of Rao Gango; the Gogawats, of the famous Goga [or Gūga] the Chauhan, who defended the Sutlej in the earliest Muslim invasion recorded. Both Goga and his steed Jawadia are immortal in Rajasthan. The Author had a chestnut Kathiawar, called Jawadia; he was perfection, and a piece of living fire when mounted, scorning every pace but the antelope's bounds and curvets.

² [Pātan in Jaipur State; Narnol in Patialā; Rewāri in Gurgaon District, Panjāb.]

³ One of the great clans of Amber; of whom more hereafter.

⁴ [The tortoise (Kachhwāha) and the sun (the sun-born tribes).]

⁵ Founder of the Bharatpur State.

⁶ The Bāisa, or 'twenty-two' viceroys of India.

Khan Bangash, etc. In the month of Sawan (July), Taragarh was invested; Abhai Singh marched out and left its defence to [91] Amra Singh. It had held out four months, when through the prince of Amber (Jai Singh), Ajit listened to terms, which were sworn to on the Koran by the nobles of the king; and he agreed to surrender Ajmer.¹ Abhai Singh then accompanied Jai Singh to the camp. It was proposed that in testimony of his obedience he should repair to the presence. The prince of Amber pledged himself; but the Fearless (Abhai) placed his hand on his sword, saying, 'This is my surety!'

Ajit Singh's Heir received at the Imperial Court.—The heir of Marwar was received by the king with the utmost honour; but being possessed of a double portion of that arrogance which forms the chief characteristic of his race (more especially of the Rathor and Chauhan, from which he sprang), his reception nearly produced at Delhi a repetition of the scene recorded in the history of his ancestor Amra at Agra. Knowing that his father held the first place on the king's right hand, he considered himself, as his representative, entitled to the same honour; and little heeding the unbending etiquette of the proudest court in the world, he unceremoniously hustled past all the dignitaries of the State, and had even ascended a step of the throne, when, checked by one of the nobles, Abhai's hand was on his dagger, and but for the presence of mind of the monarch, "who threw his own chaplet round his neck" to restrain him, the Divan would have been deluged with blood.

The Murder of Ajit Singh, A.D. 1724.—We shall now drop the chronicles, and in recording the murder of Ajit, the foulest crime in the annals of Rajasthan, exemplify the mode in which their poetic historians gloss over such events. It was against Ajit's will that his son went to court, as if he had a presentiment of the fate which awaited him, and which has been already circumstantially related.² The authors from whose records this narrative is chiefly compiled, were too polite to suffer such a stigma to appear in their chronicles, "written by desire" and under the eye of the parricide, Ajit's successor. The Surya Prakas merely says, "at this time Ajit went to heaven"; but affords no indication of the person who sent him there. The Raj Rupaka, how-

¹ [This was in 1723. The chronicler disguises the defeat of Ajit Singh.]

² See p. 857.

ever, not bold enough to avow the mysterious death of his prince, yet too honest altogether to pass it over, has left an expressive blank leaf at this part of his chronicle, certainly not accidental, as it intervenes between Abhai Singh's reception at court, and the incidents following his father's death, which I translate verbatim, as they present an excellent picture of the results of a Rajput potentate's demise [92].

"Abhai, a second Ajit, was introduced to the Aspati; his father heard the news and rejoiced. But this world is a fable—a lie. Time will sooner or later prey on all things. What king, what raja can avoid the path leading to extinction? The time allotted for our sojourn here is predetermined; prolong it we cannot. The decree penned by the hand of the Creator is engraven upon each forehead at the hour of birth. Neither addition nor subtraction can be made. Fate (*honhar*) must be fulfilled. It was the command of Govinda¹ that Ajit (the Avatar of Indra) should obtain immortality, and leave his renown in the world beneath. Ajit, so long a thorn in the side of his foe, was removed to Parloka.² He kept afloat the faith of the Hindu, and sunk the Muslim in shame. In the face of day, the lord of Maru took the road which leads to Paradise (*Vaikuntha*). Then dismay seized the city; each looked with dread in his neighbour's face as he said, 'Our sun has set!' But when the day of Yamaraj³ arrives, who can retard it? Were not the five Pandus enclosed in the mansion of Himala?⁴ Harchand escaped not the universal decree; nor will gods, men, or reptiles avoid it, not even Vikrama or Karna; all fall before Yama. How then could Ajit hope to escape?

"On Asarh, the 13th, the dark half of the moon of 1780, seventeen hundred warriors of the eight ranks of Maru, for the last time marched before their lord.⁵ They placed his body in a boat,⁶ and carried him to the pyre,⁷ made of sandal-wood and

¹ The sovereign judge of mankind [Krishna].

² 'The other world'; lit. 'another place.'

³ 'Lord of hell.'

⁴ *Hima*, 'ice,' and *ālaya*, 'an abode.'

⁵ Both head and feet are uncovered in funeral processions.

⁶ *Id est*, a vehicle formed like a boat, perhaps figurative of the sail crossing the Vaitarani, or Styx of the Hindu.

⁷ For the mode of conveying princes to their final abode, I refer the reader to a description at vol. i. p. 152, *Trans. Royal Asiatic Society*.

perfumes, with heaps of cotton, oil, and camphor. But this is a subject of grief : how can the bard enlarge on such a theme ? The Nazir went to the Rawala¹ and as he pronounced the words ' Rao siddhi āyē,' the Chauhani queen, with sixteen damsels in her suite, came forth : ' This day,' said she, ' is one of joy ; my race shall be illustrated ; our lives have passed together, how then can I leave him ? ' ²

The Sati.—“ Of noble race was the Bhattiani queen, a scion (*sakha*) of Jaisal, and daughter of Birjang. She put up a prayer to the Lord who wields the discus.³ ' With joy [98] I accompany my lord ; that my fealty (*sati*) may be accepted, rests with thee.' In like manner did the Gazelle (*Mrigavati*) of Derawal,⁴ and the Tuar queen of pure blood,⁵ the Chawara Rani,⁶ and her of Shaikhavati, invoke the name of Hari, as they determined to join their lord. For these six queens death had no terrors ; but they were the affianced wives of their lord : the curtain wives of affection, to the number of fifty-eight, determined to offer themselves a sacrifice to Agni.⁷ ' Such another opportunity,' said they, ' can never occur, if we survive our lord ; disease will seize and make us a prey in our apartments. Why then quit the society of our lord, when at all events we must fall into the hands of Yama, for whom the human race is but a mouthful ? Let us leave the iron age (*Kaliyuga*) behind us.' ' Without our lord, even life is death,' said the Bhattiani, as she bound the beads of Tulsi⁸ round her neck, and made the *tilak* with earth from the Ganges. While thus each spoke, Nathu, the Nazir,⁹ thus addressed them : ' This is no amusement ; the sandal-wood you now anoint with is cool : but will your resolution abide, when you remove it with the flames of Agni ? When this scorches your tender frames, your hearts may fail, and the desire to recede will disgrace your lord's memory. Reflect, and remain where you are. You have

¹ The queen's palace.

² This is the lady whom Ajit married in his non-age, the mother of the paricide.

³ Krishna [Chakrāyudha, Krishna, or Vishnu].

⁴ Ancient capital of the Bhattis.

⁵ Descended from the ancient dynasty of the Hindu kings of Delhi.

⁶ Tribe of the first dynasty of Anhilwara Patan.

⁷ The fire.

⁸ [The sacred basil, *Ocimum sanctum*.]

⁹ The Nazir (a Muslim epithet) has the charge of the harem.

lived like Indrani,¹ nursed in softness amidst flowers and perfumes ; the winds of heaven never offended you, far less the flames of fire.' But to all his arguments they replied : 'The world we will abandon, but never our lord.' They performed their ablutions, decked themselves in their gayest attire, and for the last time made obeisance to their lord in his car. The ministers, the bards, the family priests (*Purohīts*), in turn, expostulated with them. The chief queen (*Patrāni*) the Chauhani, they told to indulge her affection for her sons, Abhai and Bakhta ; to feed the poor, the needy, the holy, and lead a life of religious devotion. The queen replied : 'Kunti, the wife of Pandu, did not follow her lord ; she lived to see the greatness of the five brothers, her sons ; but were her expectations realized ?' This life is a vain shadow ; this dwelling one of sorrow ; let us accompany our lord to that of fire, and there close it.'

"The drum sounded ; the funeral train moved on ; all invoked the name of [94] Hari.² Charity was dispensed like falling rain, while the countenances of the queens were radiant as the sun. From heaven Uma⁴ looked down ; in recompense of such devotion she promised they should enjoy the society of Ajit in each successive transmigration. As the smoke, emitted from the house of flame, ascended to the sky, the assembled multitudes shouted Kaman ! Kaman ! 'Well done ! Well done !' The pile flamed like a volcano ; the faithful queens laved their bodies in the flames, as do the celestials in the lake of Manasarovar.⁵ They sacrificed their bodies to their lord, and illustrated the

¹ The queen of heaven.

² [Kunti escaped the fire and protected the children of Mādri, the other wife of Pāndu, who was burnt with him.]

³ Hari Krishna is the mediator and preserver of the Hindu Triad ; his name alone is invoked in funeral rites (see p. 621). The following extract from Dr. Wilkins' translation of the *Gīta* will best disclose his attributes :—Krishna speaks : "I am the journey of the good ; the comforter ; the creator ; the witness ; the resting-place ; the asylum ; and the friend. I am generation and dissolution ; the place where all things are deposited, and the inexhaustible soul of all nature. I am death and immortality ; I am never-failing time ; the preserver, whose face is turned on all sides. I am all grasping death ; and I am the resurrection of those who are about to die."

⁴ A name of Durga, the Hindu Juno.

⁵ The sacred lake in Tibet. [See C. A. Sherring, *Western Tibet and the British Borderlands*, 259 ff.]

races whence they sprung. The gods above exclaimed, 'Dhan Dhan¹ Ajit ! who maintained the faith, and overwhelmed the Asuras.' Savitri, Gauri, Sarasvati, Ganga, and Gomati² united in doing honour to these faithful queens. Forty-five years, three months, and twenty-two days, was the space of Ajit's existence, when he went to inhabit Amarapura, an immortal abode ! "

Character of Ajit Singh.—Thus closed the career of one of the most distinguished princes who ever pressed the 'cushion' of Maru ; a career as full of incident as any life of equal duration. Born 'amidst the snows of Kabul, deprived at his birth of both parents, one from grief, the other by suicidal custom ; saved from the Herodian cruelty of the king by the heroism of his chiefs, nursed amidst the rocks of Abu or the intricacies of the Aravalli until the day of danger passed, he issued forth, still an infant, at the head of his brave clans, to redeem the inheritance so iniquitously wrested from him. In the history of mankind there is nothing to be found presenting a more brilliant picture of fidelity than that afforded by the Rathor clans in their devotion to their prince, from his birth until he worked out his own and his country's deliverance. It is one of those events which throw a gleam of splendour upon the dark picture of feudalism, more prolific perhaps in crime than in virtue. That of the Rajputs, indeed, in which consanguinity is superadded to the other reciprocal [95] ties which bind a feudal body, wears the more engaging aspect of a vast family. How affecting is the simple language of these brave men, while daily shedding their blood for a prince whom, until he had attained his seventh year, they had never beheld ! " Without the sight of our lord, bread and water have no flavour." And how successfully does the bard portray the joy of these stern warriors, when he says, " As the lotus expands at the sunbeam, so did the heart of each Rathor at the sight of their infant sovereign ; they drank his looks even as the *papiha* in the month of Asoj sips the drops of *amrita* (ambrosia) from the *Champa*."

¹ *Dhan* is 'riches,' but is here used in the sense of glory ; so that riches and glory are synonymous in term with the Hindu, as in practice in the west ; the one may always command the other, at least that species of it for which nine-tenths of mankind contend, and are satisfied with obtaining.

² Celestial queens.

The prodigality with which every clan lavished its blood, through a space of six-and-twenty years, may in part be learned from the chronicle; and in yet more forcible language from the cenotaphs scattered over the country, erected to the manes of those who fell in this religious warfare. Were other testimony required, it is to be found in the annals of their neighbours and their conquerors; while the traditional couplets of the bards, familiar to every Rajput, embalm the memory of the exploits of their forefathers.

Ajit was a prince of great vigour of mind as well as of frame. Valour was his inheritance; he displayed this hereditary quality at the early age of eleven, when he visited his enemy in his capital, displaying a courtesy which can only be comprehended by a Rajput. Amongst the numerous desultory actions, of which many occurred every year, there were several in which the whole strength of the Rathors was led by their prince. The battle of Sambhar, in S. 1765, fought against the Sayyids, which ended in a union of interests, was one of these; and, for the rest of Ajit's life, kept him in close contact with the court, where he might have taken the lead had his talent for intrigue been commensurate with his boldness. From this period until his death, Ajit's agency was recognized in all the intrigues and changes amongst the occupants of Timur's throne, from Farrukhsiyar to Muhammad. He inherited an invincible hatred to the very name of Muslim, and was not scrupulous regarding the means by which he was likely to secure the extirpation of a race so inimical to his own. Viewing the manifold reasons for this hatred, we must not scrutinize with severity his actions when leagued with the Sayyids, even in the dreadful catastrophe which overwhelmed Farrukhsiyar, to whom he owed the twofold duty of fealty and consanguinity.

His Conduct to Durgadās.—There is one stain on the memory of Ajit which, though unnoticed in the chronicle [96], is too well ascertained to be omitted in a summary of his character, more especially as it illustrates that of the nation and of the times, and shows the loose system which holds such governments together. The heroic Durgadas, the preserver of his infancy, the instructor of his youth, the guide of his manhood, lived to confirm the proverb, "Put not thy faith in princes." He, who, by repeated instances of exalted self-denial, had refused wealth and honours

that might have raised himself from his vassal condition to an equality with his sovereign, was banished from the land which his integrity, wisdom, and valour had preserved. Why, or when, Ajit loaded himself with this indelible infamy was not known; the fact was incidentally discovered in searching a collection of original newspapers written from the camp of Bahadur Shah,¹ in one of which it was stated, that "Durgadas was encamped with his household retainers on the banks of the Pichola Lake at Udaipur, and receiving daily five hundred rupees for his support from the Rana; who when called on by the king (Bahadur Shah) to surrender him, magnanimously refused." Imagining that Ajit had been compelled to this painful sacrifice, which is not noticed in the annals, the compiler mentioned it to a Yati deeply versed in all the events and transactions of this State. Aware of the circumstance, which is not overlooked by the bards, he immediately repeated the couplet composed on the occasion—

*Durgo desām kādhiyo
Golām Gāmgāni!*

Durga was exiled, and Gamgani given to a slave.²

Gamgani, on the north bank of the Luni, was the chief town of the Karanot fief, of which clan Durga was the head. It is now attached to the Khalisa, or fisc, but whether recently, or ever since Durga, we know not. The Karanots still pay the last rites to their dead at Gamgani, where they have their cenotaphs (*chhatris*). Whether that of the noble Durga stands there to serve as a memorial of princely ingratitude, the writer cannot say; a portrait of the hero, in the autumn of his days, was given to him by the last lineal descendant of Ajit, as the reader is already

¹ Discovered by the author amongst the Rana's archives.

² [Dr. Tessitori writes that the correct version is :

"Mahārāja Ajmāl ri
Jad parkha jāni.
Durgo Saphara dāgajē,
Golām Gāmgāni."

"The mind of Mahārāja Ajit Singh then became known (when he saw) Durgadās burned on the banks of the Sipra River and Gāmgāni bestowed on slaves." According to tradition, the exiled Durgadās died at Ujjain, near which the Sipra flows.]

aware.¹ Well may we repeat, that the system of feudality is the parent of the most brilliant virtues and the darkest crimes. Here, a long life of uninterrupted fidelity could not preserve Durgā from the envenomed breath of slander, or the serpent-tooth [97] of ingratitude: and whilst the mind revolts at the crime which left a blank leaf in the chronicle, it is involuntarily carried back to an act less atrocious, indeed, than one which violates the laws of nature, but which in diminishing none of our horror for Abhai Singh, yet lessens our sympathy for the persecutor of Durgadas

CHAPTER 10

Mahārāja Abhai Singh, A.D. 1724-50.—The parricidal murder of Ajit is accounted the germ of destruction, which, taking root in the social edifice of Marwar, ultimately rent it asunder. Bitter has been the fruit of this crime, “even unto the third and fourth generation” of his unnatural sons, whose issue, but for this crime, would in all human probability have been the most potent princes in India, able single-handed to have stopped Mahratta aggrandisement.

“It was in 1781 (says the bard) Ajit went to heaven. With his own hand did the emperor Muhammad Shah put the *tika* on the forehead of Abhai Singh, girded him with the sword, bound the *turah*² on his head, placed a dagger set with gems [98] in his girdle, and with Chaunris, Naubats, and Nakkaras,³ and many valuable gifts, invested the young prince in all the dignities of his father. Even Nagor was resumed from the son of Amra and included in his sanad. With these marks of royal favour, he took leave of the court, and returned to his paternal dominions. From village to village, as he journeyed homeward, the *kalas* was raised on the head.⁴ When he reached Jodhpur, he dis-

¹ Vol. I. p. 451.

² [A plumed crest worn on the turban.]

³ [Fly-flappers, bands of music, kettledrums.]

⁴ The *kalas* is a brazen vessel, of household use. A female of each family, filling one of these with water, repairs to the house of the head of the village, when, being all convened, they proceed in a body to meet the person to

tributed gifts to all his chiefs, and to the Bardais (bards and Charans), and lands to the family priests (*Purohīts*)."

A day at the court of the desert king, related in the phraseology of the chronicle, would be deemed interesting as a picture of manners. It would also make the reader more familiar with Karna, the most celebrated bard in the latter days of Rajput independence : but this must be reserved for an equally appropriate vehicle,¹ and we shall at present rest satisfied with a slight sketch of the historian of Maru.

Karan, the Bard.—Karna-Kavya, or simply Karna, who traced his descent from the last household bard of the last emperor of Kanauj, was at once a politician, a warrior, and a scholar, and in each capacity has left ample proofs of his abilities. In the first he took a distinguished part in all the events of the civil wars ; in the second, he was one of the few who survived a combat almost without parallel in the annals even of Rajput chivalry ; and as a scholar, he has left us, in the introduction to his work,² the most instructive proof, not only of his inheriting the poetic mantle of his fathers, but of the course he pursued for the maintenance of its lustre. The bare enumeration of the works he had studied evinces that there was no royal road to Parnassus for the Rajput Kaviswar,³ but that, on the contrary, it was beset with difficulties not a little appalling. The mere nomenclature of works on grammar and historical epics, which were to be mastered ere he could hope for fame, must have often made Karna exclaim, "How hard it is to climb the steeps" on which from afar he viewed her temple. Those who desire to see, under a new aspect, an imperfectly known but interesting family of the human race, will be made acquainted with the qualifications of our bardic historians, and the particular course of studies which [99] fitted

whom they render honour, singing the *suhaila*, or 'song of joy.' The presenting water is a token of homage and regard, and one which the author has often had paid to him, especially in Mewar, where every village met him in this way.

¹ I hope some day to present a few of the works of the great bard Chand, with a dissertation on the Bardais, and all the 'sons of song.' [Karan flourished about A.D. 1730 : see Grierson, *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan*, 98.]

² Entitled the *Surya Prakas*, of 7500 stanzas.

³ *Kārīswar*, or *kāvya-īswara*, 'lord of verse,' from *kāvya*, 'poesy,' and *īswara*, 'lord.'

Karna "to sit in the gate¹ of Jodhagir," and add a new book to the chronicles of its kings.

These festivities of the new reign were not of long duration, and were succeeded by warlike preparations against Nagor, which, during the contentions between Ajit and the emperor, had been assigned to the descendant of the ancient princes of Mandor.

"When Ajmer was invested by the collective force of the empire,² Iradat Khan (Bangash), collector of the Jizya,³ took the Indha by the arm, and seated him in Nagor.⁴ But as soon as the Holi⁵ was past, the 'Avatars of Jawalamukhi'⁶ were consecrated: goats were sacrificed, and the blood, with oil and vermilion, was sprinkled upon them. The tents were moved out. Hearing this, Rao Indra produced the imperial patent, with the personal guarantee of Jai Singh of Amber. Abhai heeded not, and invested Nagor; but Indra left his honour and his castle to the Fearless,⁷ who bestowed it on Bakhta his brother. He received the congratulations of Mewar, Jaisalmer, Bikaner, and Amber, and returned to his capital amidst the rejoicings of his subjects. This was in S. 1781.

"In S. 1782 he was employed in restraining the turbulent Bhumias on the western frontiers of his dominions; when the

¹ The portal of the palace appears to have been the bard's post. Pope gives the same position to his historic bards in 'the Temple of Fame':

"Full in the passage of each spacious gate,
The sage Historians in white garments wait;
Grav'd o'er their seats the form of Time was found,
His soythe revers'd, and both his pinions bound." [l. 145-8.]

² In the original, "by the *bāisa*," the 'twenty-two,' meaning the collective force of the twenty-two *subahdars*, 'or satraps of the provinces.'

³ Capitation tax.

⁴ The poet calls it by its classic appellation, *Nāgadurga*, the 'castle of the serpent' [rather *Nāgapura*, capital of the *Nāga* sept of *Rājputs*].

⁵ For this festival see p. 661.

⁶ *Jawalamukhi*, the 'mouth of flame,' the cannon, which are thus consecrated before action. They are called *avatars*, or 'incarnations' of *Jawalamukhi*, the *Etna* of India, at the edge of whose crater the Hindu poet very properly places the temple of *Jawali Rani*, 'the terrific' *Kali Ma*, the Hindu *Hecate*. [*Jawālamukhi* in the *Kāngra* District, *Panjāb* (*IGI*, xiv. 86 f.).]

⁷ *Abhai*, the name of the prince, means 'fearless,' from *bhai*, 'fear,' and privative prefix.

Sindhals, the Deoras, the Balas, the Boras, the Balechas, and the Sodhas were compelled to servitude.

Abhai Singh summoned to Delhi, A.D. 1726.—“In S. 1783 a farman of summons arrived, calling the prince to attend the Presence at Delhi. He put it to his head, assembled all his chiefs, and on his passage to court made a tour of his dominions, examining his garrisons, redressing [100] wrongs, and adjusting whatever was in disorder. At Parbatsar¹ he was attacked by the small-pox: the nation called on Jagrani² to shield him from evil.

“In 1784 the prince reached Delhi. Khandauran, the chief noble of the empire, was deputed by the emperor to conduct him to the capital; and when he reached the Presence, his majesty called him close to his person, exclaiming, ‘Welcome, *Khushbakht*,³ *Maharaja Rajeswar*,⁴ it is long since we met; this day makes me happy; the splendour of the Ammkhass is redoubled.’ When he took leave, the king sent to his quarters, at Abhaipur, choice fruits of the north, fragrant oils, and rose-water.”

The prince of Maru was placed at the head of all the nobility. About the end of S. 1784, Sarbuland Khan’s rebellion broke out,⁵ which gave ample scope for the valour of the Rathors and materials for the bard, who thus circumstantially relates it:

“The troubles in the Deccan increased. The Shahzada Jangali⁶ rebelled, and forming an army of sixty thousand men, attacked the provincial governors of Malwa, Surat, and Ahmadpur,

¹ [On the Kishangarh border, N.E. of Jodhpur State.]

² *Jagrani* (I write all these phrases exactly as pronounced in the western dialect), ‘Queen of the world.’ *Sitala Mata* is the common name for the goddess who presides over this scourge of infancy.

³ ‘Of happy fortune.’

⁴ *Mahārāja-Rājeswar*, the pompous title of the kings of Maru; ‘great Raja, lord of Rajas.’

⁵ [Sarbuland Khān was Governor of Gujarāt, A.D. 1724, and was removed from office in 1730 because he consented to pay *Chauth* or blackmail to the Marāthas. He opposed the installation of Abhai as his successor, and defeated him at Adālaḥ (Beale, *Dict. Oriental Biography*, s.v.; Grant Duff 217).]

⁶ In none of the Muhammadan histories of this period is it mentioned, that there was an imperial prince at the head of the first Mahratta irruption; probably he was a mere tool for the purposes of others. [The ‘Boorish Prince,’ as the name implies, was a nickname of Hāmid Khān Bahādur, uncle of Nizāmu-l-mulk, Āsaf Jāh (Grant Duff 217; *BG*, i. Part i. 303 ff.).]

slaying the king's lieutenants, Girdhar Bahadur, Ibrahim Kuli,¹ Rustam Ali, and the Mogul Shujaat.

Rebellion of Sarbuland Khan. Scene at the Imperial Court.—“Hearing this, the king appointed Sarbuland Khan to quash the rebellion. He marched at the head of fifty thousand men, having a crore of rupees for their subsistence; but his advanced army of ten thousand men being defeated in the first encounter, he entered into terms with the rebels, and agreed to a partition of the country.”

It was at this time the prince of Marwar begged permission to retire to his hereditary dominions. The bard's description of the court, and of the emperor's distress on this occasion, though prolix, deserves insertion :

“The king was seated on his throne, attended by the seventy-two grand Omras of the empire, when tidings reached him of the revolt of Sarbuland. There was the wazir Kamaru-din Khan, Itimadu-Daula, Khandauran, commander-in-chief [101] (Mir Bakhshi), Samsamu-d-daula, the Amiru-Umara, Mansur Ali, Roshanu-d-daula, Tura Baz Khan, the Lord Marcher (*Sim ka Bakhshi*); Rustam Jang, Afghan Khan, Khwaja Sayyidu-d-din, commandant of artillery (*Mir Atish*); Saadat Khan,² grand chamberlain (*Darogha Khawass*), Burhanu-l-Mulk, Abdul Samad Khan, Dalil Khan, Zafariyab Khan, governor of Lahore, Dalel Khan, Mir Jumla, Khankhanan; Zafar Jang, Iradat Khan, Murshid Kuli Khan, Ja'far Khan, Allahwirdi Khan,³ Muzaffar Khan, governor of Ajmer. Such and many more were assembled in the Presence.

“It was read aloud that Sarbuland had reduced Gujarat, and proclaimed his own *an*; that he had ground the Kolis to dust; that he had vanquished the Mandalas, the Jhalas, the Chudasamas, the Baghels, and the Gohils, and had nearly exterminated the Balas; that Halar had agreed to pay tribute, and that such was the fire of this Yavan, that the Blumias of themselves abandoned their strongholds to seek sanctuary with him

¹ [Girdhar Bahādur was a Nāgar Brāhman; Ibrāhīm Kuli, son of Shujā'at Khān.]

² Afterwards Wazir of Oudh, a State founded and maintained by consummate treason.

³ Nawab of Bengal, another traitor.

whom the 'seventeen thousand'¹ now called sovereign; that he had set himself up a king in Ahmadabad, and made a league with the 'Southron.'

"The emperor saw that if this defection was not quelled, all the viceroys would declare themselves independent. Already had Jagaria Khan in the north, Saadat Khan in the east, and the Mlechchha Nizamu-l-mulk in the south, shown the blackness of their designs. The *tap* (verve) of the empire had fled.

"The *bira* was placed on a golden salver, which the Mir Tajik bore in his extended arms, slowly passing in front of the nobles ranged on either side of the throne, mighty men, at the sight of whose faces the rustic would tremble: but in vain he passed both lines; no hand was stretched forth; some looked awry; some trembled; but none cast an eye upon the *bira*.

"The 'almighty monarch' (*Parameswar Padshah*), who could make the beggar an Omra of twelve thousand, and the noble of twelve thousand a beggar, was without resource. 'Who,' said one, 'would grasp the forked lightning, let him engage Sarbuland!' Another exclaimed, 'Who would seize the vessel, and plunge with her in the whirlpool, he may contend with Sarbuland.' And a third, 'Whoever [102] dare seize the forked tongue of the serpent, let him engage Sarbuland.' The king was troubled; he gave a sign to the Mir Tajik to return the *bira* to him.

"The Rathor prince saw the monarch's distress, and as he was about to leave the Ammkhass, he stretched forth his hand, and placed the *bira* in his turban, as he said, 'Be not cast down, O king of the world; I will pluck down this Sarbuland:² leafless shall be the boughs of his ambition, and his head (*sar*) the forfeit of his arrogant exaltation (*buland*).'

"When Abhai Singh grasped the *bira*, the breasts of the mighty were ready to burst with the fulness of envy, even like the ripe pomegranate, as the king placed the grant of Gujarat into the hands of the Rathor. The Shah's heart was rejoiced, as he said, 'Thus acted your ancestors in support of the throne; thus was quelled the revolt of Khurram and Bhim in the time of Jahangir; that of the Deccan settled; and in like manner do

¹ This number of cities, towns, and villages constituted the kingdom of Gujarat under its ancient sovereigns.

² *Sar*, 'the head,' *buland*, 'exalted, high, arrogant.' I write the name *Sirbullund*, being the orthography long known.

I trust that by you the honour and the throne of Muhammad Shah will be upheld.'

" Rich gifts, including seven gems of great price, were bestowed upon the Rathor; the treasury was unlocked and thirty-one lakhs of coin were assigned for the troops. The guns were taken from the arsenals, and with the patent of the vice-royalties of Ahmadabad and Ajmer, in the month of Asarh (1786), Abhai took leave of the king."¹

Abhai Singh starts for Gujarāt, A.D. 1730.—The political arrondissement of Marwar dates from this period; for the rebellion of Sarbuland was the forerunner of the disintegration of the empire. It was in June A.D. 1730 that the prince of Marwar left the court of Delhi. He had a double motive in proceeding direct to Ajmer, of which province he was viceroy; first, to take possession of his stronghold (the key not only of Marwar but of every State in Rajputana); and second, to consult with the prince of Amber on the affairs of that critical conjuncture. What was the cause of Jai Singh's presence at Ajmer the chronicle says not; but from circumstances elsewhere related, it may be conjectured that it was for the purpose of celebrating "the rites of the Pitrideva" (manes of his ancestors) at Pushkar. The bard gives a most prolix account of the meeting, even to the *pagtar*, 'or foot-clothes' spread for "the kings of the Hindus" to walk on, "who feasted together, and together plotted the destruction of the [103] empire": from which we perceive that Karna, the bard, had a peep behind the curtain.

Having installed his officers in Ajmer, Abhai Singh proceeded to Merta, when he was met by his brother, Bakhta Singh, on which occasion the grant of Nagor was bestowed upon the latter. The brothers continued their route to the capital, when all the chiefs were dismissed to their homes with injunctions to assemble their vassals for the ensuing campaign against Sarbuland. At the appointed time, the Kher (feudal array) of Marwar assembled under the walls of Jodhpur. The occasion is a delightful one to the bard, who revels in all "the pomp and circumstance of war": from the initiatory ceremony, the moving out the tents, to the consecration of the 'mighty tubes' (*bakvannal*), the 'volcanos of the field,' or, as he terms them, the 'crocodile-mouths' (*magar-*

¹ In the original, the emperor is called the *Aspati*, 'lord of swords,' or perhaps *Aswapati*, 'lord of steeds.'

mukhan), ‘emblems of Yama,’ which were sprinkled abundantly with the blood of goats slain under their muzzles. He describes each clan as it arrives, their steeds, and caparisons.

Abhai Singh attacks Sirohi.—Instead, however, of proceeding direct to the main object of the war, Abhai Singh took advantage of the immense army thus placed under his command, as viceroy of Gujarat, to wreak his own vengeance upon his neighbour, the gallant prince of Sirohi, who, trusting to his native strength, had spurned every compromise which involved his independence. This resolution he maintained by his natural position, strengthened by alliances with the aboriginal races who hemmed his little State on all sides, excepting that towards Marwar.

These Minas, the mountaineers of the Aravalli, had given offence to Abhai Singh ; for while the prince, between his arrival at Jodhpur and the assemblage of the Kher, gave himself up to indolence and opium, they carried off the whole cattle of the train to the mountains. When this was reported to Abhai Singh, he coolly said, “Let them go, they knew we were short of forage, and have only taken them to their own pastures in the mountains.” Strange to say, they did return them, and in excellent condition, as soon as he prepared to march. When he heard of this, he observed, “Did I not tell you these Minas were faithful subjects ?”

The order to march was now given, when the bard enumerates the names and strength of the different Rajput princes, whose contingents formed this array, in which there were only two Muhammadan leaders of distinction : “The Haras of Kotah and Bundi ; the Khichis of Gagraun ; the Gauris of Sheopur ; the Kachhwahas of [104] Amber, and [even] the Sodhas of the desert, under their respective princes or chiefs, were under the command of the Marwar prince. His native retainers, the united clans of Marwar, formed the right wing of the whole army, headed by his brother Bakhta.

“On the 10th Chait (Sudi) S. 1786, Abhai marched from Jodhpur, by Bhadrajun and Malgarh, Siwana and Jalor. Rewara was assaulted ; the swords of the enemy showered, and the Champawat fell amidst heaps of slain. The Deoras abandoned the hill and fled. The trees were levelled to the summit ; a garrison was posted, and the array moved on to Pusalia. Then Abu shook with affright. Affliction seized Sirohi ; its prince was